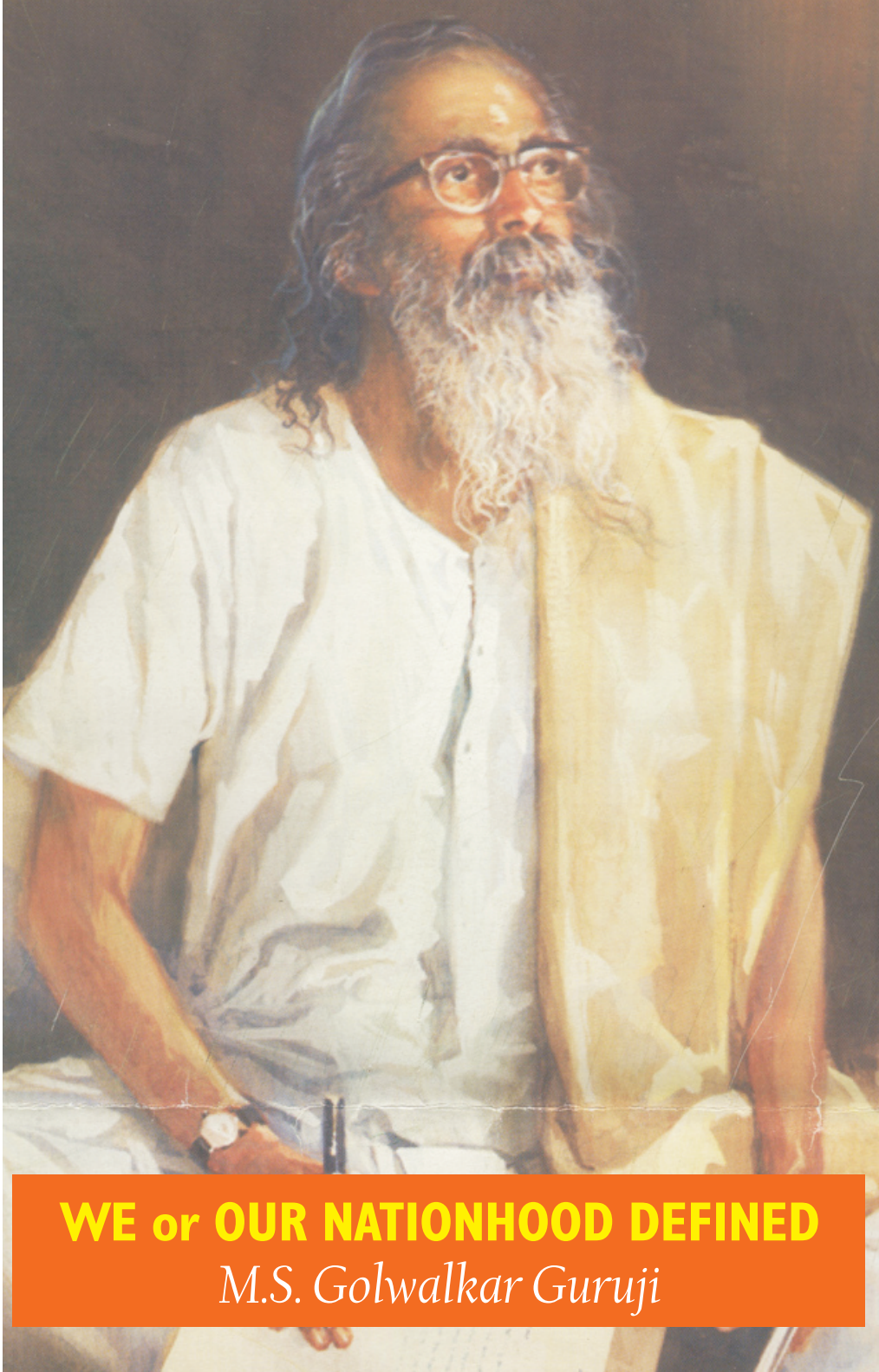
WE or OUR NATIONHOOD DEFINED - GURUJI



WE or OUR NATIONHOOD DEFINED

M.S. Golwalkar Guruji

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WE

Or

Our Nationhood Defined

M. S. Golwalkar

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To the memory or those noble martyrs who,

despite ignominy, calumny and contempt

at the hands of their own undeserving brethren,

have kept the flame of true Nationality

burning in our Land.

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PREFACE

It is with a deep sense of relief that I place this little work in the hands of the readers. After all that is written in the pages following, it seems superfluous for me to write anything in particular at length. However, I take the opportunity of this preface, to explain the limits which I had set myself when penning this work. I have throughout the work scrupulously stuck to one idea "Nation" and except where it was unavoidable have given no consideration to the allied concept, the "State." "Nation" being a cultural unit, and "State" a political one, the two concepts are clearly distinguishable, although there is certainly a good deal of mutual overlapping. Considerations about the "Hindu State" or as people now please to call it, the "Indian State," have been reserved. If it is possible, the question may form the subject matter of another book. And yet, in applying the Nation Concept to our present day conditions, there is a discussion of the relations of the various communities to the Hindu Nation - but not from the political point of view - not from the standpoint

of the State, though to some of the readers it may appear to be so, but solely from the point of view of the unit called the "Nation". Hence all passing remarks to the relations between the "Nation" and the "Minority Communities" as appearing in this work are to be understood in this light, without confusing the question of the Minorities' political status with that of their inclusion or otherwise into the body of the "Nation."

Such is the scope of this book. I pray the reader to remember that this work aims only at analysing the "Nation" concept, applying it to our present day problems and establishing the proposition that in this country, our "Nation" means, and independently of the question of majority always must mean the Hindu Nation and nought else.

Incidentally in doing this, I have had to resort to certain strong expressions and to lay bare, once again, the intentions which led to the foundation of the Congress. I hope, however, that I have paid my humble respects to those Nationalist giants, who despite this handicap, have, all down these years,

been putting up a gallant fight in the cause of the Motherland. Some of these I have mentioned and it is not out of any want of reverence that numerous other names have not been put down, but for certain reasons of my own. All the same, I Sincerely beg to be excused, if inadvertently the book seems to countenance any disparagement of those noble souls, who in various ways strove and are striving to keep the national pulse beating un-intermittently in our land.

It is a matter of personal gratification to me that this maiden attempt of mine—an author unknown in this line—has been graced by a foreword by Loknayak M. S. Aney. Himself a great and selfless patriot, an erudite scholar and a deep thinker, his foreword has, as I had expected, materially enhanced the value of the book. He has candidly expressed where he does not agree with the author, but the reader will agree with me that it is such a learned essay that it will substantially add to his knowledge and make him think. And so far as the main proposition of the Hindu Nationhood of Hindusthan goes, he has incontrovertibly

substantiated it, in addition to his own views, with those of a number of modern political philosophers. How can I adequately express my thankfulness to him? He agreed to write this foreword and in spite of his being overworked during the last few weeks with the Assembly Session at New Delhi and later with the prospect of the Congress Session at Tripura, sent the same to me in good time. I have been laid under such a deep debt of gratitude to him! How can I repay it? I can only pray to him to overlook the want of words and accept my heartfelt thanks bare though their expression may be.

In compiling this work, I have received help from numerous quarters, too many to mention. I thank them all heartily; but I cannot help separately naming one and expressing my gratefulness to him - *Deshbhakta* G. D. Savarkar. His work *Rashtra Meemansa* in Marathi has been one of my chief sources of inspiration and help. An English translation of this work is due to be shortly out and I take this opportunity of directing the

reader to that book for a more exhaustive study of the subject.

The manuscript of this book was ready as early as the first week of November 1938, but its appearance earlier, however desirable, was not possible due to many difficulties. And even now, singlehanded, I would not have undertaken all this trouble and would have let the work lie idle. But the Bharat Prakashan which has set out to publish treatises inculcating and feeding the truly national point of view, came to my help and undertook to bring it out as its first publication. The concern has so promptly executed the work, that within a few days from the time it was entrusted with this work, it has brought out the book in this elegant form. For its timely service I cannot be too thankful to this institution.

It is hoped that this work fulfill its mission. If it stimulates thought and provokes the public to sift matters for themselves, and come to the right Nationalistic outlook, I shall have become fully paid for the labours.

Whatever its merits or demerits, I offer this work to the public as an humble offering at the holy feet of the Divine Mother - the Hindu Nation - in the hope that She will graciously accept this worship from an undeserving child of Her Own. For the rest, let the public judge.

M. S. Golwalkar
Nagpur,
Varsha Pratipada 1861
22nd March 1939

FOREWORD

The present thesis furnishes an interesting and fascinating contribution to the discussion of a subject of great and vital importance. The term Nation, Nationality and Nationalism are being loosely used by writers and speakers. I venture to say that most of them have no clear precise meaning or connotation.

Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes in his well-known essays on Nationalism has shown how the word Nation is "tantalisingly ambiguous". Mr. Hayes observes, "It is an old word and has gathered much moss with the lapse of centuries. As derived from the Latin '*Natio*', it meant birth or race and signified a tribe or social grouping based on real or fancied community of blood and possessed presumably of unity of language. Later it was used in certain mediaeval universities to designate a division of students for voting purposes according to their place of birth. "In English literature certain reputed authors have used it only in the sense of collection or class or species; Edmund Spenser in the Faery

Queen spoke of a "Nation of birds"; Ben Jonson styled physicians as "a subtile nation" and Samuel Butler referred to lawyers as "too wise a nation to expose their trade to disputation."

Although there have been, of late, important contributions on the various aspects of nationalism, no scholarly work treating systematically the whole subject in the nature and history of Nationality and Nationalism exists in any language. The subject has attracted serious attention of the western scholars more after the great European War than at any time before. One of the measures which the victorious allies wanted to adopt to permanently cripple the vanquished German nation was by distributing the territories of Central Europe among the various small nationalities. Since then there has been a continuous flow of literature from the pens of renowned Western Scholars dealing with one or more aspects of the problem of Nationality and Nationalism. Works written in English on this subject by G. P. Gooch, J. L. Stocks, Israel Zangwill, Mr. Zimmerin, Muir, S. Herbert and Bernard

Joseph have been widely read and rightly regarded as the most valuable contributions to the discussion on this complicated problem of Nationalism. In the classical writings on political philosophy of old authors like Bluntschli, Mazzini, Liten, John Stuart Mill, there are brilliant fragments dealing with and describing the concept of nationalism.

Mazzini is by common consent still regarded as the greatest interpreter of Nationality.

Mr. Gooch rightly says that it was only during the years of catastrophe and reconstruction that historians and publicists, psychists, psychologists and Sociologists all over the world began to devote to it the close attention which for many centuries has been given to the meaning of sovereignty or the nature of the State". Study of Nationalism has now occupied a proper place among the living major problems of practical politics and of political science.

There is a school of thought growing in the West which holds that the cult of nationalism has

outlived its usefulness and the evolution and further progress of humanity demands its immediate displacement by the wider and more catholic spirit of Humanity or internationalism. Mazzini, that inspired prophet of Nationalism, has very aptly and eloquently described a century ago the relative inter-dependence of the two great conceptions, Nationalism and Humanity. "Humanity is the association of peoples; it is the alliance of peoples in order to work out their missions in pRace and love. To forget humanity is to suppress the aim of our labours, to cancel the nation is to suppress the instrument by which to achieve the aim".

Dr. Joseph Bernard in his most valuable and scholarly book on Nationality, its nature and problems has upheld the claim of Nationality as an abiding necessity in the progress of man and humanity. Nationality is the link between man and humanity. The Nation like the family is one of the pillars of civilisation. Its scrapping will hinder the march of progress. Progress consists in the adaptation of the ideas and institutions of the past

and not in their wholesale annihilation. Progress is the result of construction, building new structures and beautiful mansions on the foundations of the past. Iconoclastic tendencies have never helped the cause of progress at any time before. If anything, it has more than once given a definite set back to the progress of man in the field of knowledge, material property, morality and spiritualism.

In approaching the problem of Nationality it is necessary to bear in mind that the Modern writers attempt to make a subtle but clear distinction between a State and a Nation. Unless these two concepts are kept apart, an analytic study of the concept of Nationality or nationalism becomes extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible. Which of the two conceptions is first-born is still a point of controversy. Those who hold that the essence of Nationality is the "intensification of civic consciousness in the people of a sovereign State" obviously cling to the theory that "Nationality is the product of a political State".

The first step which the man must have taken to emerge out of his primitive savage state is to group him and his likes into what is commonly known as a tribe. This is the reflection in man of the flock-instinct in the lower creation. Federation of a number of tribes into larger combinations has helped to make them sufficiently numerous and distinct to be ultimately formed into a Nationality if this view be correct, then the immediate cause of nationality must be traced to the institution of State. But it would not be correct to maintain that the two concepts, State and nationality are coeval or coterminous. There are illustrations known to history where Nationality was evolving in spite of not having any independent existence as a sovereign State. The most notable example is that of the United Kingdom itself. The Scotch, the Welsh and the English are three nationalities in one Sovereign State. The movements of the Poles and Bohemians can be cited as another instance of survival of nationality independent of any political unity. "The State is an essentially political unity while the nationality is primarily cultural and

incidentally political" says Prof. Hayes. "Nationality is an aspect of culture. The distinctive marks and qualities of Russians, Greeks, Germans, Japanese and other nationalities are no appanage of race or incident of geography; they are the creation of social circumstances and cultural traditions. In this sense, a nationality may exist without-political unity and vice versa. A political state may embrace several nationalities though the tendency has been pronounced in modern times for every self-conscious nationality to aspire to political unity and independence."

Having so far shown that the conception of nationality must not be confounded with that of the State in any attempt to treat the problem systematically and scientifically, I will like to invite the attention of the readers to what are termed as the psychological and spiritual theories of Nationalism.

"According to this theory nationality is a psychological phenomenon - a state of mind. It has its origin essentially in uniformity of outlook, a

common range of ideas, a common way of thinking and common preferences." In the view of these theorists "Nationality is to the social group what personality is to the individual." This theory obviously regards environment, culture, language, religion and political institutions as the causes that contribute to the formation and development of nationality. This psychological theory of Nationality was further developed into a spiritual one by Renan and others. They maintain that Nationality is a soul or a spiritual principle, the one, the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories and the other the desire to live together and continue the heritage received. Renan claimed that material things alone such as race, language or common unity of interests not always suffice to treat such a spiritual principle. The idea that every civilised nation has a mission to fulfill is the corollary to this spiritual conception of nationality. I desire to cite one more passage from the book of Mr. Bernard Joseph on which I have freely drawn in what is written above. The passage is a quotation from S. Levi's work 'Out of Bondage'

explaining the importance of spiritual principle to nationality.

"The enemy may ravage the country, but every nation possesses something over which the enemy has no control, viz., the spirit of the people; that innate spirit which expresses itself in thousand ways in all the creations of the people in the way it orders its life, in art, in literature, in customs and in taste." Pages of history bear eloquent testimony to the trials and tribulations, to the sufferings and harassments through which people have gone simply to preserve their nationality. The indomitable spirit that sustained them and helped them to overcome and triumph over all their difficulties and dangers is one of those phenomena that cannot but fail to strike and appeal to the readers of the history of the world. Side by side with this spiritual view of nationalism may be read, the views of those who regard nationality as a group consciousness. This theory is open to the objection that group consciousness may remain dormant for a long time so far as the majority of the group is concerned without that group ceasing

to be a nationality. The Jewish philosopher AHADHA'AM has in the following appealing passage graphically described the position.

"If the man of one people is becoming more and more estranged from its national spirit though unaware of the fact, and if the "jennesse doice" is setting up 'new Gods' like the gods of the people round about them, whilst only isolated individuals remain faithful to our nationality in its historical form the self-same isolated individuals are the heirs of our national heritage at the present time; they hold the historic thread in their hands and do not allow it to be severed". These custodians of the rich heritage may become the centres of imitation and the national spirit lying dormant may suddenly awaken and quicken in the majority the consciousness of nationality.

There is still a theory of nationality termed as the idea of corporate sentiment. It looks at nationality as "being essentially a sentiment of sympathy for, and attachments to things connected with one's own nationality such as Homeland, its

literature, its heroes and geniuses, its language, sentiments, traditions or mode of dress." Nationality is a natural corporate sentiment manifesting diversely in the members of the group in the form of certain preferences and sympathies for things connected with the group. I cannot describe it better than in the following words of Professor Zimmerin. “Nationality is a thing which the national can feel rather than define.” "It is more than a creed or a doctrine or a code of conduct, it is an instinctive attachment, it recalls an atmosphere of precious memories of vanished parents and friends of old customs, of reverence, of home and a sense of the brief span of human life as a link between immemorial generations spreading backwards and forwards. "

The rich heritage that mainly sustains this sentiment of nationality is only a collective name for all the material attributes of nationality such as language, political institutions and customs. It asserts itself in the consciousness of the kind and establishes a bond of fellowship among its members. Thus apart from the sustenance it

derives from the material attributes it is transformed into an instinct that drives man to fight and risk his all for the preservation of his group. Individual is thus turned into a part of the big machine that goes by the name of the group. He becomes a living limb of an organism.

Not a small credit is due to the oppression from outside sources for the building up of this sentiment. If culture and other material attributes be the only basis of nationality it is not enough to explain the urge for the supreme sacrifice which the members of the groups have made for preservation of their nationality. The sentiment has its roots gone down into the emotional structure of man.

Professor Zimmarin says—

"This sentiment is intense and intimate, for a man's nationality is a matter which is a-vital concern to him and which he would not deny or betray without a sense of shame, and it is one of his most intimate possessions being linked up as it is with his past and embodying the momentum of an

ancient tradition. If one must seek for the cause of this sentiment of Nationality it is rather to be found in the belief on the part of certain group that they have certain things in common, which differentiates them from other groups constitutes them a distinct and separate group with certain peculiar groupal possessions or characteristics in common which make it desirable that they live a common group life."

I entirely agree with the view of Mr. Bernard Joseph when he says "the conception of nationality as a corporate sentiment grasps the true essence and fundamental basis of nationality. It is more comprehensive than the theory of group consciousness or psychological unity and also pays more heed to the importance to Nationality of its diverse other elements such as culture, religion and language etc.

The same author, after reviewing all the theories relating to the considerations of the essence, origin and functions of nationality and after having expressed his opinion as regards the superiority of

the theory of corporate sentiment, has given his own definition of nationality in the following words.

"Nationality as a quality is the subjective corporate sentiment permanently present in and giving a sense of distinctive unity to the majority of the members of a particular civilised section of humanity, which at the same time objectively constitutes a distinct group by virtue of possessing certain collective attributes peculiar to it such as Home-land, language, religion, history, culture or traditions. Nationality as a concrete designation denotes a group possessed of the quality of nationality as so defined."

The data rendered available to us through the history going over thousands of years and the careful and dispassionate observation of the present day conditions of the Hindus enable us to maintain without any fear of contradiction that the Hindus are a nation or nationality by themselves. They have a distinctive characteristic culture. They have a common cultural language and a common

cultural literature which regulate and govern their life even in minute details. They have developed a common out-look on life which is decidedly different from that of any other people. They have their home-land distinctly marked out on the map from the rest of the world by such natural demarcations as no other country is fortunate to possess. They have developed a corporate sentiment which has enabled them to rise and attain their glorious position more than once during the last thousand years in spite of the invasions and conquests of the barbarous conquering hordes from the North and the West. It has to its credit great achievements in the field of literature service and philosophy. Hindus in the North and South in spite of superficial difference have common basis for their magnificent architecture painting, music, dancing and several other fine arts.

No sane man can question the proposition that Hindus are a nation. There will also be no difficulty to concede that the Hindus constitute the vast majority of the population. India is therefore

pre-eminently a Hindu nation, Hindusthan. The practical bearing of these conclusions on the problems that confront the politicians is immense and deserve to be very carefully and dispassionately considered. I find that the author in dealing with the problems of the Mohmeddans' place has not always borne in mind the distinction between the Hindu nationality and Hindu sovereign State. Hindu Nation as a sovereign State is entirely a different entity from the Hindu nation as a cultural nationality. No modern State has denied the resident minorities of different nationalities rights of citizenship of the State if they are once naturalised either automatically or under the operation of a Statute. The problem of the rights of minorities has figured prominently in the Post-war settlement as the mere enjoyment of rights of citizenship was likely to prove ineffective for them to preserve their separate nationality.

Existence of a separate nationality as a minority enjoying all the rights of citizenship with special safe-guards for the preservation of their culture and language and religion is not deemed

incompatible with the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the State as a whole. Immediately as the minority members are naturalised, all difference between them and the members of the majority disappear for political and administrative purposes. No modern jurist or political philosopher or student of constitutional law can subscribe to the proposition which the author has laid down in Chapter V.

"At the outset we must bear in mind that so far as 'nation' is concerned, all those who fall outside the fivefold limits of that idea can have no place in national life unless they abandon their differences, adopt the religion, culture and language of the National and completely merge themselves in the National race. So long as they maintain their racial, religious and cultural differences, they cannot but be only foreigners, who may be either friendly or inimical to the nation."

I have no doubt in my mind that a dispassionate study of the minority treaties of the League of Nations will not at all bear out -the proposition

which the author has so dogmatically laid down. There is nothing inconsistent with the sovereign position of a state in giving -these culturally different minorities liberty to retain and observe their religious practices and facilities to preserve their culture, subject to condition of public morals and public policy. No person born in the country, of parents whose ancestors enjoyed rights of citizenship for centuries together can be treated as a foreigner in any modern state on the ground that he follows a religion different from that of the majority population which naturally dominates and controls it. Conversion of faith can't be a condition for naturalisation of any alien in this twentieth century. Allegiance to the State is and must be possible on naturalisation to an alien if he fulfils certain conditions regarding residence, association and similar other matters. But I have not been able to find anywhere conversion to State-religion, assuming -there is anything like that in modern states in its true sense, prescribed as a condition precedent to naturalisation of an alien.

"Except perhaps in States following Islam which has one of its articles of faith, the supremacy of the true believer over the infidel and which precludes the possibility of any true national fellowship between the convert to Mohamedanism and an infidel follower of another religion, one cannot expect recognition of such a fanatic position, in the constitution of a any civilised State.

In its early stages religion was no doubt one of the principal elements of nationality; but its power as a force in national life has, however, dwindled in more recent times, so that it has now ceased to be of consequence. In most States there is no longer a state religion, belief being a matter of individual choice. In the great majority of nationalities there are conflicting religions. The Americans are a notable example of nationality in the making of which religion did not enter. Since the declaration of Independence there has always been complete freedom of religious belief and worship, and the life of American nationality from the beginning has been entirely free from the element of religion. Growth of the doctrine of religious toleration has

robbed religion of its former importance in the life of nationalities. It has become a recognised principle that a greater degree of national unity can be attained when complete religious tolerance prevails than under the system of a national religion. "

These extracts culled out from the chapter "On religion as an element of nationality" from the work of Bernard Joseph are enough to demonstrate the difference between the modern Jurists and author of this pamphlet as regards the degree importance which religion should have in the formation of Nationality. Prof. Bernard Joseph summarises his admirable review of the place of religion in the problem of Nationality by the observation that it has frequently had an important function in the creation and continuance of nationality, but that subject to a few exceptions when it forms the basis of national unity, it is no longer a factor of much importance."

The school of Indian patriots who have founded the Indian National Congress were the pioneers of

the movement of Indian Nationalism. I feel confident that their attempts to develop Indian Nationalism on lines other than those of religious grouping were at any rate not inconsistent with the views of the western jurists. The author has certainly done injustice to those high-souled illustrious Englishmen who helped the foundation of the Congress and its growth in its early stages by attributing to them unworthy motives.

With all my difference of opinion on some of the vital problems of policy such as communal award and others with the leading congress-men of today, I consider it necessary to emphatically assert that much of the sentiment of Nationalism that exists in India today is the result of the work done by the giants who have led and run the Congress movement in the country during the last fifty years and more.

I also desire to add that the strong and impassioned language used by the author towards those who do not subscribe to his theory of nationalism is also not in keeping with the dignity

with which the scientific study of a complex problem like the Nationalism deserves to be pursued. It pains me to make these observations in this foreword. But I feel that I would have been both untrue and unjust to myself in not enforcing my opinion in clear and unambiguous terms on the points above.

Barring these points of difference there is much in this small book with which I am in agreement with the author. He has taken pains to explain in simple but elegant style the abstract notions which form the main ingredients of the concept of Nationalism. He has succeeded in examining the principles deduced from the above study in light of the conditions prevailing in India and applying the same to the solution of the problems with which the Indian Nationalist is confronted.

The book is one which will prove thought-provoking and serve to give an impetus to the scientific study of a problem which has been so far comparatively neglected. The author therefore deserves to be congratulated on having brought

about this book at this time and presented to the readers a new and important point of view of looking at Nationalism and studying National movements which unfortunately did not occur to many who have been styling themselves and also working as Nationalists. Let the Nationalist know once and for ever that he is a member of a Hindu Nation which has to be just not merely to those who are Hindus by religion but also to those who are prepared to be loyal citizens of the Hindu State on condition of religious Liberty and cultural freedom being guaranteed to them. The minorities whether they follow the Hindu religion, the Christian religion or the Mohammaden religion are all entitled to the enjoyment of their religious and cultural freedom. But this concession must be confined to the preservation of cultural traditions involving the observance of their religious rites and practices and, the study of their language and literature and not permitted to expand into a right of partnership in the affairs of the State on any communal or creedal considerations.

State is an indivisible unit: No community can claim a right to divide the State. The democratic State shall be under the sovereignty of the Nationality to which majority of the people in the State belongs. Others shall have the privileges of citizenship extended along with those of the majority with certain safe-guards for preservation of their culture and religion. This, I think, is the correct and the just and the most practical view to take.

The author's book is in my opinion a natural and perhaps an inevitable and much needed reply to the theory of Blank cheque which is generally attributed to Mahatma Gandhi and those who think like him. Its careful perusal will clear the mind of the readers of many undesirable preconceptions and furnish them with rich food for reflection-Existence of Hindu Nation in a position of domination in India or Hindusthan will not only be a salvation to the Hindus only but it alone can be an unfailing guarantee to all the minorities of different nations living in this country for the preservation of their religious and cultural rights.

Doctrine of religious toleration and freedom of faith for all are the essential tenets of Hindu philosophy. I only hope and trust that the minorities will realise the truth 'at an early date and resolve to work shoulder to shoulder with the majority for the restoration of the glory of the *Bharatwarsha* which is the motherland of all the majority viz. the Hindu Nation, and the minority viz. the Mohammaden and other communities. The political unity of all must be the aim of all sincere Nationalists be they followers of Hinduism including, Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism, or Islam, or Christianity, or Zoroastrianism or any other religion. A little forbearance for small mistakes and a greater regard for cultivation of fellow-feeling on the part of all shall certainly take us nearer the goal within a reasonably short time, much earlier than most people imagine.

M. S. ANEY,
13 Feroz Shah Road,
New Delhi, 4th March 1939.

PROLOGUE

We are born in strange times. It may be, we are fortunate to have been born in the present condition? It may even be, we are most unfortunate to have been so born. It all depends upon our angle of vision. Some may deem it a stroke of rare good luck to come into the world, in a nation full of pRace and plenty, of power and glory. Some others may think otherwise and thank God that during their sojourn here, they are faced with hardships, with scarcity, adversity and trouble, through which they have to struggle on to prosperity. In affluence, we are born and we die, that is probably all about our life. But in adverse circumstances we get n opportunity to put forth the best in us, to test our manliness, to stand before the world a colossal personality, full of grandeur, in triumph as well as in defeat. We are offered the chance to rise to our full stature, to soar into heights beyond the highest flights of human imagination. But be it as it may, one thing is certain, that we, in Bharatwarsha to-day, live in strange times.

Strange times, indeed, when we do not live but merely exist. Strange and altered. Words which for centuries conveyed to us certain definite ideas have changed meanings. Distortion is rampant. Noble words are profuse; nobility is at a sad discount. Selfishness, greed, injustice, hypocrisy stalk here and there in insolent pride and pass for virtues. Sterling merit is discouraged. In line, we are rolling down at a terrific speed into the bottomless abyss of degeneration and yet congratulate ourselves upon our "progress". Such is our condition today.

Strange, very strange, that traitors should sit enthroned as national heroes and patriots heaped with ignominy. That is the point. We have learnt to call a class of people patriots, saviours of the nation. We have also learnt to dub all the rest as unnational. Really, have we thought over it well? Do we, in fact, understand what it is to be a national? Or do we merely echo a well-worn slogan without appreciating the essence thereof '?

We see being created all about us such a great fuss of national regeneration, independence and

what not. Such a cloud of dust, I mean words, is raised that it is ten to one, we move about in a sort of stupor and know not what we do. What do we strive for? Independently of the means, what is it that we are out to attain? Swaraj? Independence? What is Swaraj and whose independence is our goal? Do we strive to make our "nation" independent and glorious, or merely to create a "state" with certain political and economic powers centralized in other hands than those of our present rulers? Do we clearly perceive that the two concepts - the nation and the state - are distinctly different? If we do not, we are merely groping in the dark, and may end by destroying what may be most after our heart. To avoid such a calamity, for it appears from the day's condition that such a disaster is impending, it is necessary that we disillusion ourselves and see clearly our goal and the way to it.

Especially now, when we appear to have become nationally conscious and thrown ourselves in action we must cry halt in our headlong career and ask ourselves the question "whither are we

heading? Will it lead us to our proper end or land us in a confounded confusion? And it is with this motive that the following is attempted.

We stand for national regeneration and not for that hap-hazard bundle of political rights-the state. What we want is Swaraj; and we must be definite what this "swa" means. "Our kingdom" - who are we? It is this question, most pertinent at this stage, that we shall attempt to answer. For this purpose we must analyse and understand the universally acknowledged nation concept and see how far we actually subscribe to it. And if we do not, why, and whether such an aberration is in any way proper. We must also see what the nation idea should denote to us in our struggle for national regeneration, by applying the universal concept to our case. And we will look at our problem from more points of view than one.

CHAPTER I

To start with: The life of Nations is not to be counted in years. What days are in the life of man, years or even centuries may be in that of Nations. Especially so is the case of the Nation of Hindusthan. Whereas with the exception of China, all the chief Nations of the world today can trace the history of their civilized life (I should say semi-barbaric life) and go back at best a couple of thousand years, we cannot say when, at what particular point of time, we in Hindusthan discarded the state of nature and started an ordered, civilized, national existence. It seems as if we never were uncivilized. The Vedas, the most ancient literature extant today, embodies ideas too noble except for a highly organised and cultured people to express. Indeed for all their vaunted superiority of intellectual investigation, the Western Scholars have not still seen even the hem of the garment of the glorious Goddess of knowledge, whom our ancient Sages saw in all her splendid totality and assimilated into their own being. And when the Vedas came into existence,

we are at liberty only to conjecture in vain. Leaving these times of the dim past, into the mysteries of which History dare not venture, let us come to what is known as the Epic age. Let us ignore even the vast stretch of time that must have elapsed between these two ages. And of the two great Epics, Ramayan and Mahabharat, which give their name to this period, let us consider only the later one, Mahabharat[1]. What is the time of this Epic?

[1] It is interesting to note the colossal ignorance of Historians of the West, about ancient History. Every child in, Hindusthan knows that Ramayan is the work of the father of Sanskrit poetry, Valmiki» and the first piece of literature in Sanskrit. Mahabharat is a much later work. Every child also knows that the story of the Ramayan is about a personality much more ancient than the heroes of the Mahabharat. From internal evidence also it can be shown that whereas the Ramayan is referred to in the Mahabharat, no mention of even the dynasties of Bharat and others of the latter epic is traceable in Valmiki's work. The language of the two works also gives ample proofs of Mahabharat being a much later work. But obsessed with the idea, that Aryans came to Hindusthan from somewhere near the Caspian Sea or the Arctic region or some such place, and invaded this land in bands of marauder?, that later they settled down first in the Punjab and gradually, spread eastward along the Ganga, forming kingdoms, at various places, at Ayodhya among them, the Historian feels it an anachronism, that the kingdom of Ayodhya in the Ramayan should be older than the more western Pandava Empire at Hastinapur. And he, with pedantic ignorance* teaches us that the story of the Mahabharat js

When was the great battle fought?" When was the immortal gem in the diadem of this great Epic, the Shrimad Bhagawadgita, set in words? Orientalist Scholars have ascertained that the Geeta must be about 1,500 to 2,000 years prior to Buddha's birth. And Buddha lived about 600 B. C. Evidently the Mahabharat is at least 4,500 to 5,000 years old. If we take into consideration the fact that the Mahabharat depicts a highly organised, elaborate, civilized society, at the zenith of its power and glory, and try to find out how long the race must have taken to attain that stage, we shall certainly have to go back another several thousand years into the unknown past. For such a complex civilisation could not have been the product of a day. When after about 2,000 years of progress, conquest of nature and the humanising influence of Christ, the West, even today, has scarcely washed off the paint of her barbarous forefathers,

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the older. Unfortunately such misconceptions are stuffed into the brains of our young ones through text books appointed by various Universities in the country. It is high time that we studied, understood and wrote our history ourselves and discarded such designed or un-designed distortions.

we must say that we must have lived and progressed many times that period before we could attain that superb social structure, sung in that immortal song. Undoubtedly, therefore, we - Hindus- have been in undisputed and undisturbed possession of this land for over 8 or even 10 thousand years before the land was invaded by any foreign race.

Thus apart from any consideration of the Hindu i.e. Aryan race being indigenous or otherwise, of one thing we are certain, that the very first page of history records our existence as a progressive and highly civilized nation - the only nation in the then world, in this land, which, therefore, came to be known as Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus.

And after all what authority is there to prove our immigrant nature? The shady testimony of Western scholars? Well, it must not be ignored that the superiority complex of the 'White Man' blurs their vision.

Can they acknowledge the greater antiquity and superiority of a nation, now held in thrall by one of

their peoples? They have neither such generosity nor love of truth. Till yesterday they wandered wild in the wildernesses, their nude bodies weirdly tattooed and painted. They must need show, therefore, that all peoples of the world were at that time in the same or worse state. And they set about proving, when the superior intellectual and spiritual fruits of Hindu Culture could not be denied, that, in origin, there was but one Aryan race somewhere, which migrated and peopled Europe, Persia and Hindusthan, but that the European stock went on progressing whilst the Hindu branch mixed with the aborigines, lost its purity and became degenerate. Again there is another consideration. By showing that the Hindus are mere upstarts and squatters on the land (as they themselves are in America, Australia and other places!) they can set up their own claim. For then neither the Hindus nor the Europeans are indigenous and as to who should possess this land, becomes merely a matter of superior might, mere priority of trespass giving no better right to any race to rule undisturbed on any part of the globe.

We are merely dreaming and imputing motives, one may say. But, then, how is the strange fact of European tea-planters and merchants, who make a show of having settled in this land (for their own gain and at their own choice of course), being classed on a par with the Hindus and given minority rights in the present constitution (1935) to be explained? If the Europeans really acknowledged the Hindus to be children of the soil and the Europeans in this land mere squatters and despoilers thereof, could they have perpetrated such a palpable absurdity? No, the European, particularly the Englishman, will never cease duping us into believing that we have no more right to this land than he has.

But it may be said Lok. Tilak propounded the Arctic origin of the Aryans. Quite so. We may agree with him that originally the Aryans i. e. the Hindus lived in the region of the North Pole. But, he was not aware that, in ancient times, the North Pole and with it the Arctic Zone was not where it is today. We have heard in a lecture on Paleontological Botany, delivered during the

convocation of the Benares Hindu University (Feb. 1932), by Dr. Birbal Sahni, Professor of Botany, Lucknow University, the reputed professor give the results arrived at by a certain European Paleontologist and confirmed by Dr. Sahni himself. The result, in a nutshell, is, that the North Pole is not stationary and quite long ago it was in that part of the world, which, we find, is called Bihar and Orissa at the present; that then it moved northeast and then by a sometimes westerly, sometimes northward movement, it came to its present position. If this be so, did we leave the Arctic Zone and come to Hindusthan or were we all along here and the Arctic Zone left us and moved away northwards in its zigzag march? We do not hesitate in affirming that had this fact been discovered during the life-time of Lok. Tilak, he would unhesitatingly have propounded the proposition that The Arctic Home in the Vedas ' was verily in Hindusthan itself and that it was not the Hindus who migrated to that land but the Arctic Zone which emigrated and left the Hindus in Hindusthan.

Enough of this. Man's knowledge (?) of those times is merely conjectural. He puts forth hypotheses, which are merely of tentative value. Hypothesis is not truth. Out of the heap of hypotheses we reject all and positively maintain that we Hindus came into this land from nowhere, but are indigenous children of the soil always, from times immemorial and are natural masters of the country. Here we compiled our inimitable Vedas, reasoned out our Philosophy of the Absolute - the last word on the subject, built our sciences and arts and crafts. Here we progressed in cultivation, industries and trade, flourished and prospered - a great nation of a great race - propounded the one religion, which is no make-belief but religion in essence, and built up a culture of such sublime nobility that foreign travellers to the land were dumbfounded to see it, a culture which made every individual a noble specimen of humanity, truth and generosity, under the divine influence of which, not one of the hundreds of millions of the people, ever told a lie or stole or indulged in any moral aberration; and all this long

before the west had learnt to eat roast meat - instead of raw! And we were one Nation - "Over all the land from sea to sea one kingdom!" is the trumpet cry of the ancient Vedas!

After the time of the Mahabharat, we have another gap of many centuries, which the accredited history has not been able to fill. But we can surmise that the nation lived its usual life without any serious occurrence. Then came Buddha and the great Emperors of the Gupta Dynasty, Asoka, Harshavardhan, Vikramaditya, Pulakeshi. ¦and others of whose rule of pRace, power and plenty, we obtain incontrovertible evidence. The invasion of the "world-conqueror" Alexander was a mere scratch. In fact he cannot be said to have invaded the country at all, so hasty was his retreat. However, with the passage of time, a sense of security spread its benumbing influence over the whole Nation, and the great corruptor, Time, laid his hand heavily on the people. Carelessness waxed and the one Nation fell into small principalities. Consciousness of the one Hindu Nationhood became musty and the race

became vulnerable to attacks from out side. Buddhistic influence—a misunderstanding of the teachings of the Great Master-—-had the baneful effect of effacing from the minds of the masses their tenacious adherence to their faith. Over-individualization in the field of religion followed and the consequence was that the individual became more prominent than the society, the Nation. For those, whom the spirit of true religion did not touch intensely, this was another name for self-seeking, even at the cost of the welfare of the whole. And yet the race-spirit did not wholly die out. The Race Spirit is too tenacious to be dead so easily. And when the first real invasions of murdering hordes of Mussalman free-booters occurred, they indeed found the nation divided against itself and incapable of stemming the tide of devastation they brought in their wake. But not for long. Here and there, principalities, of staunch Hindu Spirit, put up a tough fight and carried on an unceasing war with the invaders. The great Empire of Vijayanagar, the illustrious Rana Pratap of Chitor fought the enemy to the last drop of their

blood. Then came the glorious period of Hindu revival under the Great Shivaji and the whole illustrious line of Hindu warriors, who overthrew the Moslem domination right up to the Sindhu River, and shattered the throne of the "Great Moghul", the emblem of Muslim Victory. About the same time, in the Punjab, was being welded that band of unconquerable Hindu heroes, the Sikhs, headed by their immortal Gurus. These two Hindu forces would have come together to be welded into one, but that Guru Govind Singhji came a bit too late into Maharashtra for the purpose and found the province engrossed in a life and death struggle with Aurangzib. Unfortunately for our Nation, Chhatrapati Shivaji was dead about 25 years ago, his son treacherously captured and murdered by Aurangzib, and the whole territory in a conflagration. And Guru Govind Singhji could not fulfill his mission of joining the two streams together into an invincible torrent, before he laid down his mortal frame at Nanded (now in the Nizam's Dominions). Yet they had practically achieved their purpose: the power of the invaders

was entirely broken and the Hindu Nation was emerging victorious from this 800 years' war. But before the fruits of the great victory were gathered, before the Nation had even breathing space, to gather strength, to organize the ' State ', a new foe, from an altogether unexpected quarter, stealthily, treacherously entered the land and with the help of the Mussalmans, and such traitorous scions of the pedigree of a Jaichand Rathod, a Sumersingh, a Chandrarao Morey, as still existed, maneuvered and started taking possession of the land. Exhausted as it was with its long war, the Hindu Nation still put up a gallant fight, now victorious, now beaten, till at last its strength was greatly sapped and the whole land usurped by the new invaders. These foreigners began to consolidate their power and have thus far been able to maintain themselves. But the Nation, the Hindu Nation, was not conquered. It did not succumb suppliant at the feet of the enemy. No, on the contrary it raised itself, weak as it was once again, in 1857, to beat off the foe. This so-called mutiny may be said thus far to be the last great nation-

wide attempt to end the long war. The attempt failed but even in their defeat a whole galaxy of noble Hindu patriots stands out - glorious objects of the Nation's worship.

Was at least now the conquest of Hindusthan complete? Was the Hindu Nation subjugated'? Let History speak. Here come before our eyes the figures of Wasudeo Balwant, Annasahab Patwardhan, the whole race of martyrs in Bengal, in the Punjab, the U. P., Maharashtra, Madras, throughout the length and breadth of the country, who, since .1906 till today, have been grimly fighting for their Mother-the Hindu Race and Nation, too many and too sacred to name. And with other weapons the staunch fighters Lok. Tilak, Lala Lajapat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and a host of others and the day's notaries - M. Gandhi and others, too recent to be named, all Hindu workers, rightly conceiving the National future or not, but all sincerely and sternly fighting the foe. Surely the Hindu Nation is not conquered. It is fighting on. Ever since that evil day, when Moslems first landed in Hindusthan, right up to the present

moment the Hindu Nation has been gallantly fighting on to shake off the despoilers. It is the fortune of war, the tide turns now to this side, now to that, but the war goes on and has not been decided yet. Nor is there any fear of its being decided to our detriment. The Race Spirit has been awakening. The lion was not dead, only sleeping. He is rousing himself up again and the world has to see the might of the regenerated Hindu Nation strike down the enemy's hosts with its mighty arm. "The star has risen and is steadily climbing up the firmament. At no distant date the world shall see it and tremble with fear or dance with delight. It all depends upon the nature of those it shall shine upon.

Thus do we understand the History of Hindusthan. In a nut-shell, we may state that in this land of ours we have lived for God knows how long, a great Nation of the grandest culture, that though, for the last thousand years or less, the land has been infested with murderous bands of despoilers in various parts, the nation has not been conquered, far less subjugated, that through all

these years it has engaged in a. terrible struggle to free the land of this pest and the great struggle is still relentlessly raging with varying success to both sides. In short our history is the story of our flourishing Hindu National life for thousands of years and then of a long unflinching war continuing for the last ten centuries, which has not yet come to a decisive close. And when we understand our history, thus rightly, we find ourselves, not the degenerate, downtrodden, uncivilised slaves that we are taught to believe we are today, but a nation, a free nation of illustrious heroes fighting the forces of destruction for the last thousand years and determined to carry on the struggle to the bitter end with ever-increasing zeal and unflagging national ardour. And Race Spirit calls. National consciousness blazes forth and we Hindus rally to the Hindu Standard, the *Bhagawa Dhwaja*, set our teeth in grim determination to wipe out the opposing forces.

To counteract this conquering spirit, to extinguish the correct Hindu National consciousness, our Histories teach us that we never

were a nation, but a medley of warring chieftains, that our real history begins with the Moghul rulers, that the rise of the Hindu power in Maharashtra and the Punjab were mere rebellions of plundering chiefs, that the 1857 conflagration was a mutiny and the sacrifices of the modern martyrs, the deserving punishment meted out to traitors; and that pRace reigned in the land for the first time since the consolidation of British power. Not satisfied with this, for it was certain that sooner or later the cat would surely come out of the bag and reveal the utter falsity of such a designedly distorted narrative, another effort was made to put the race on a wrong track, and unfortunately this attempt seems to have borne the bitter fruit. The idea was spread that for the first time the people were going to live a National life, the Nation in the land naturally was composed of all those who happened to reside therein and that all these people were to unite on a common "National" platform and win back "freedom" by "Constitutional means." Wrong notions of democracy strengthened the view and we began to

class ourselves with our old invaders and foes under the outlandish name - Indian and tried to win them over to join hands with us in our struggle. The result of this poison is too well known. We have allowed ourselves to be duped into believing our foes to be our friends and with our own hands are under-mining true Nationality. That is the real danger of the day, our self-forgetfulness, our believing our old and bitter enemies to be our friends. As a matter of fact we have in Hindusthan a triangular fight, we, Hindus, at war at once with the Moslems on the one hand and Britain on the other. The Moslems are not misled. They take themselves to be the conquering invaders and grasp for power. In our self-deception, we go on seceding more and more, in hopes of "Nationalising" the foreigners and succeed merely in increasing their all-devouring appetite. The consequence, for us, is that we go more and more astray and lose sight of our cherished goal of National regeneration. Indeed we begin to fear that calling ourselves Hindus even, is denationalizing. Thanks to Sir William

Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Hume and others of the type, we have almost completely lost sight of our true Hindu Nationhood, in our wild goose chase after the phantasm of founding a "really" democratic "State" in the country. Their aims are being realised. The Congress, they founded as a safety valve to seething nationalism, as a toy which would lull the awakening giant into slumber, an instrument to destroy National consciousness, has been, as far as they are concerned, a success. Our own "denationalization" under the name of Nationality is Hearing its consummation. We have almost forgotten our Nationhood.

CHAPTER II

What is the notion of Democratic states about "Nation"? Is it the same haphazard bundle of friend and foe, master and thief, as we in Hindusthan understand it to mean? Or do the political thinkers of the democratic West think otherwise?

We believe that our notions today about the Nation concept are erroneous. They are not in conformity with those of the Western Political Scientists, we think we are imitating. It is but proper, therefore, at this stage, to understand what the Western Scholars state as the Universal Nation idea and correct ourselves. With this end in view, we shall now proceed with stating and analysing the World's accepted Nation concept.

The word "Nation" denotes a compound idea. It consists of certain distinct notions fused indissolubly into a whole, which stands so long as its components exist in unison. The various political philosophers have expressed in different words but always conveying the same sense. Modern dictionaries, too, give the same meaning.

Fowler defines the word "Nation" to mean "A people or Pace distinguished by community of descent, language, history or political institutions." The definitions given by the various Political Scientists are more comprehensive and more to the point. We will quote a few, though a large number of authors can easily be cited, and examine them to find out what, in essence, they in common subscribe to.

According to Prof. Hole-Combe "It (Nationality) is a corporate sentiment, a kind of fellow - feeling or mutual sympathy relating to a definite home country. It springs from a common heritage of memories, whether of great achievements and glory, or of disaster and suffering. "With Burgess Nation means" a population having a common language and literature, common customs and common consciousness of rights and wrongs, inhabiting a territory of a geographical unity." Bluntsley, the famous German writer on politics, defines Nation thus - " It is a union of masses of men of different occupations and social states, in a hereditary society of common spirit; feeling and

race bound together especially by a language and customs in a common civilization which gives them a sense of unity and distinction from all foreigners, quite apart from the bond of the state." Getel is very clear in his expression of the concept when in his "Introduction to Political Science" he says that "Nationality is to denote a population having common bonds of race, language, religion, tradition and history. These influences create the consciousness of unity that binds individuals into a nationality. "Gumplovic is brief but most significant in defining "Nation" as a "community of civilization." Our own writer on politics Mr. Kale says in his "Indian Administration" "A nation is a community, members of which are bound to one another by racial, ethnological, religious and linguistic ties."

It is needless to multiply quotations. Let us see what we obtain as the gist of the idea. That "a definite home country" - "a territory of a geographical unity" is essential for a nation is evident, though everyone may not have explicitly expressed its absolute necessity, in so many words.

The next point which comes up as of the essence of the concept is Race - a hereditary Society." "Religious ties" "Common civilization" expressed also as "Common heritage of memories" "Common bond of tradition and history" and lastly "linguistic unity" are the three other factors most prominently present in the Nation concept, as understood by the learned political thinkers of the world. In fine, the idea contained in the word Nation is a compound of five distinct factors fused into one indissoluble whole the famous five "Unities" - Geographical (country), Racial (Race), Religious (Religion), cultural (Culture) and linguistic (language). We will take each severally and examine its place in the concept.

COUNTRY: That for any race to live the life of a Nation it is essential that it should have a territory of its own, delimited as possible by natural geographical boundaries, is an unquestionable truth. Indeed such a piece of land is the physical basis of any National life. A Nation without its country is unthinkable. It is only when a race inhabits a definite territory as its own possession

and develops therein, that growing forth into its peculiar culture and the resultant nationhood. History records abundant proofs of races, acquiring a country, shaping themselves, into Nations in course of time. It may be said that even the U. S. A., in which a number of European peoples settled and amalgamated themselves into a homogeneous whole, have achieved independent nationhood as a result merely of a separate country; otherwise, there is nothing to distinguish the parent stocks from their American offspring. At the same time it is an illustration in point to show how an independent life in a separate country produces varying interests and in time, stamps the mother race with a distinct new culture, giving rise to a new Nation. History also records notable examples of ancient nations being deprived of nationality as a consequence of their losing their motherland. Take for example the Jews. The Jews were a prosperous nation. But times changed. The nation was conquered and subjected to a tyrannous rule under the Romans. A number of Jews, finding it difficult to live in those conditions maintaining

their old religion and culture, left then-country Palestine, and came to Hindusthan—the purest stock of the children of Israel—and to this day they are inhabiting the country of the Hindus (the Bene-Israels of Bombay Presidency). Later, the engines of destruction loose under the name of Islam, completely destroyed their power and the Jews, in order to save what was most dear to them,—their religion and culture, fled from the country and scattered, all the world over naturalising themselves in various parts of the globe. Thus scattered they still live and with them live their religion, culture and language. They are still the same old Jews. With them nothing has changed except that they are exiles from their country and have no place to call their own; and they are all without exception, a rich and advanced people. But they are a people in name and are not a nation, as the whole world knows. The recent attempt at rehabilitating Palestine with its ancient population of the Jews is nothing more than an effort to reconstruct the broken edifice and revitalize the practically dead Hebrew National life. Another

example is of the Parsis. The same old tale of Islamic invasion, with its attendant massacres, devastation, destruction, loot and arson, violation of all sacred places desecration of religion and culture, and forced conversion to the faith of the ready executioner, and everything else that ever went hand in hand with the spread of Islam, was repeated in all its hideousness in Iran. A number of staunch Parsis decided to trust the harsh elements of Nature rather than the unparalleled cruelty of Islam, took with them their sacred fire and set sail for anywhere away from Iran and from the murderers, who enthroned themselves in that fair land. They happened to land in Hindusthan—the land of the generous Hindus, who extended to them a hand of fraternal love and gave them succour and protection. And in this new country they have lived and prospered and are today a wealthy class with their religion and culture intact. But the Parsis are not a Nation. No one can say that the Iranian Nation of the Parsis is extant today. Why? Because they lost their own country, because they have no geographical unit of a territory to call

their own, wherein to live in undisputed possession and develop, according to their own natural tendencies, their culture and their Nationhood. But let these two notable examples suffice, for no one can seriously dispute the fact that for a people to be and to live as a Nation, a hereditary territory, a definite home country, relating to which it has certain indissoluble bonds of community, is essential.

RACE: It is superfluous to emphasis the importance of Racial Unity in the Nation idea. A Race is a "hereditary Society having common customs, common language, common memories of glory or disaster; in short, it is a population with a common origin under one culture. Such a race is by far the important ingredient of a Nation. Even if there be people of a foreign origin, they must have become assimilated into the body of the mother race and inextricably fused into it. They should have become one with the original national race, not only in its economic and political life, but also in its religion, culture and language, for otherwise such foreign races may be considered, under

certain circumstances, at best members of a common state for political purposes; but they can never form part and parcel of the National body. If the mother race is destroyed either by destruction of the persons composing it or by loss of the principle of its existence, its religion and culture, the nation itself comes to an end. We will not seek to prove this axiomatic truth, that the Race is the body of the Nation, and that with its fall, the Nation ceases to exist.

RELIGION AND CULTURE:Where religion forms the very life-breath of a people, where it governs every action of the individual as well as of the Society as a whole, where in short, it forms the only incentive to all action, worldly and spiritual, it is difficult to distinguish these two factors clearly. They become one, as it were. Culture being the cumulative effect of age-long customs, traditions, historical and other conditions and most particularly of religious beliefs and their attendant philosophy, (where there is such a philosophy) on the Social mind, creating the peculiar Race spirit (which it is difficult to explain,) it is plainly a result

mainly of that religion and philosophy, which controls the social life and shapes it, generation after generation, planting on the Race consciousness, its own particular stamp. But ordinarily, where religion is a mere matter of form, or worse still, a toy for luxury to play with, it is culture which is the important factor, and can be easily distinguished from Religion. For example in Europe, except Turkey and modern Russia, the whole continent professes Christianity, but this religion, not having permeated into the life of the people, remains practically an ornament, without moulding the minds of the people. As such, each Nation while being Christian in common with the others, has developed its own peculiar culture, an evolution of the Race spirit of its pre-Christian ancestors. And every Nation is proud of this distinctive feature and guards it most zealously. For, where religion does not form a distinguishing factor, culture together with the other necessary constituents of the Nation idea, becomes the important point in the making up of individual Nationality. On the other hand in Hindusthan,

Religion is an all-absorbing entity. Based as it is on the unshakable foundations of a sound philosophy of life, (as indeed Religion ought to be), it has become eternally woven into the life of the Race, and forms, as it were, its very Soul. With us, every action in life, individual, social or political, is a command of Religion. We make war or pRace, engage in arts and crafts, amass wealth and give it away, indeed we are born and we die - all in accord with religious injunctions. Naturally, therefore, we are what our great Religion has made us. Our Race-spirit is a child of our Religion and so with us Culture is but a product of our all-comprehensive Religion, a part of its body and not distinguishable from it.

But whether the two, Religion and Culture, can be shown in distinction or not, whether the one forms an appendage of the other or vice versa, every unit which we call a Nation, does profess and maintain a National Religion and Culture, these being necessary to complete the Nation idea.

At the present, however, there is a general tendency to affirm that Religion is an individual question and should have no place in public and political life. This tendency is based upon a misconception of Religion, and has its origin in those, who have, as a people, no religion worth the name. And yet it will not be unprofitable to consider this problem at this stage. If Religion concerns itself merely with matters other-worldly if there be another world, so the sceptic will say, then surely it should have no place in affairs of this world. Then only will it surely be a question to be solved by each in his own individual way, in the privacy of his life. In Europe, in practically the whole of the world except Hindusthan, Religion means no more than a few opinions, dogmatically forced down the throats of one and all, without any consideration for individual aptitudes or the fact that the teachings therein do not accord with modern knowledge. It is just the only way for all— a square hole for balls of all shapes and sizes to fit in. And at its best it is an attempt to establish a relationship between the individual and God, for

the spiritual benefit of the former. With this view of Religion, even at its best, it is natural to affirm that it should have no place in Politics. But then, this is but a fractional part of Religion. Religion, in its essence is that which by regulating society- in all its functions, makes room for all individual idiosyncrasies, and provides suitable ways and means for all sorts of mental frames to adopt, and evolve, and which at the same time raises the whole society as such, from the material, through the moral to the spiritual plane. As many minds, so many ways that is the spiritual rule of true Religion. On the worldly or material plane, too, it affords opportunities for the development of each to the fullest stature of his manhood, not for a moment, however, desisting from pointing out and leading on the way to the attainment of the highest spiritual life and Bliss Infinite. Such Religion—and nothing else deserves that name—cannot be ignored in individual or public life. It must have a place in proportion to its vast importance in politics as well. To give it a go— bye or even to assign it an insignificant place, would mean

degeneration on all hands. Indeed politics itself becomes, in the case of such a Religion, a small factor, to be considered and followed solely as one of the commands of Religion and in accord with such commands. We in Hindusthan have been living such a Religion. For us individual, social and political prosperity is the first stage to be attained towards achievement of real life in its fullness. We cannot give up religion in our National life, as it would mean our stopping short on the lowest rung of the ladder, when we have the whole way clear before us, as it would mean that we have turned faithless to our Race-Spirit, to the ideal and mission for which we have lived for ages, in spite of greater calamities than what sufficed to annihilate Babylon and Misar and Iran and a number of the ancient civilizations.

Apart from this, and taking that Europe has a religion, (those who have raised this cry of no-religion being all Europeans) it is small wonder that they should have said so. Europe has been the scene of much bloodshed in the name of Religion. Although they tire all Christian Nations, from an

ill-placed pride in a particular form of worship in the minds of the ruling classes, they shed much innocent blood and acquired such notoriety, that for the general, pRace it was considered profitable to assume a more tolerant attitude towards the various sects and religious persuasions, and leave the individual to choose whichever he liked, provided only, he did not, in following his beliefs, becomes a nuisance to his neighbours. To ban religion altogether from all public and political life is but one step forward and a natural one.

There is yet another and much more important consideration. Sects, forms of worship, are only parts of a religion, followed by a group of persons or by individuals; they are not so many Religions. Europe, therefore, has but one Religion all over. Naturally, Religion does not form there a distinguishing of Nationality. And so in the conflict of Nations religious zeal does not form an incentive 1o any act of war or pRace. Under such conditions National differences arise solely out of the country, race, culture and possibly the language being different. Such is the state of affairs

obtaining in Europe since long. And most of the modern thinkers on Political Science being Europeans and having before them the problem of the Christian countries only, they found the religion factor superfluous in their political life. Hence the proposition that religion has no place in politics.

And yet, as we shall soon see, religion, though thus cried down, has been still zealously maintained as an essential ingredient, expressly or implicitly in the Nationhood of most of the European Nations themselves.

So also with Culture. If there be but one culture throughout and one religion, country and race, with the difference of language, if such difference exists will be sufficient to constitute distinct Nationalities. Not that under such conditions the two shall not be factors in the nation idea, only they will not be manifest, for then they shall have no need to be so. This fact should be borne in mind, as it will have to be referred to again, when we will study our own old conception of "Rashtra."

There is one more question. The modern Socialistic doctrine denies religion altogether. We reserve this-question for a later page. In passing we shall only state that Socialism, in whatever form, is the "theory of the State" and takes no account of Nationality and at present is beyond our scope. We will, therefore, for the time being let it be.

LANGUAGE: Every Race, living in its own country evolves a language of its own, reflecting its culture, it& religion, its history and traditions. Supplanting it with another is dangerous. It is an expression of the Race spirit, a manifestation of the National web of life. Every word, every turn of expression depicts the Nation's life. It is all so intertwined into the very being of the race that the two cannot be severed without fatal results. Take away from a nation its ancient language—its whole-literature goes with it—and the Nation as such ceases-to be. It is not for nothing that the English long tried, even by the force of arms, to force down their language-on the Irish and to suppress their mother tongue. It is also not for nothing that not only the Irish fought hard and

preserved their sacred language but the little Welshmen also in these modern times of glorious political life as a part of Great Britain, are striving hard to stem the tide supplanting their tongue with the 'foreign' language, not without success. For these all know that loss of their ancient language would for ever kill out their dear national sentiment, and with it wipe out any possibility of their building up independent healthy national life. One of the best evidences of an enslaved people is their adoption of the language and customs of their conquerors. Language, therefore, being inextricably woven in the all round life of a race is an ingredient of great importance in its nationality. Without it the nation concept is incomplete.

Ordinarily in every nation, these three, religion, culture and language form a compound factor. In the modern nations it is only latterly that they can be seen in their separateness. We shall, therefore, illustrate the importance of these factors in unison. Take the example of Afghanistan. It was once Gandhar, a province of the Hindu Nation. It changed its form of faith by embracing Buddhism

and gradually had tire hold of religion upon it progressively weakened, till at last, with the advent of the Muslims, it fell an easy prey to the invaders and was deprived of its religion and with it, its Hindu culture and language. The country is there, the ancient race, too, is there, but it no longer is the same old nation that it used to be. Gandhar is no more. Similarity with Baluchistan. Palestine became Arab, a large number of Hebrews changed faith and culture and language and the Hebrew nation in Palestine died a natural death. Where is the Parsi Nation today? Their land is there, still inhabited by the descendants of the old Parsis, but is there the Parsi Nation in their home country, Iran? It has ceased to be with the destruction in its country, of the three essentials. Religion, Culture and to a less extent, language. But Let us not multiply examples. These few, though merely indicative, suffice for our present purpose.

CHAPTER III

Thus far we have examined the views of the chief pre-war political writers and drawn upon old history to support the conclusion arrived at, that the Nation Concept comprises the five constituent ideas—country, race, religion, culture and-language—as the necessary and indispensable ingredients, in the existence of which five in a homogeneous whole, the Nation exists and in the destruction of any one of which the Nation itself experiences extinction. Now we have to look into the post war period and see if the same old rule still holds good or has been given up and substituted by some new one, or has been even modified.

The war left most of the principal European Nations unaffected so far as their constitutions went. Germany changed from a monarchist state to a Republican one, but its national life did not alter with the change in the form of Government. So also with Russia. But a number of small states were created out of the* remains of the old nations of

Roumania and the other contiguous nations, together with the territories despoiled from the vanquished nations. These new states were thus composed of the original national race with an incorporation in its body politic of a people racially, culturally and linguistically different. It was, therefore,, necessary to frame certain standard rules in order to establish pRaceful government in these states. The League of Nations supervised over all these changes and reorganizations and formulated the now famous "Minority Treaties" whereby the rights of the national and foreign races could be equitably adjusted and due protection granted to the minorities in such states. If indeed, the world were of opinion that Nationality was only another name for political unity and Race, Religion, Culture and Language had nothing to do with polities, there would have been no trouble, for then there could be no class of people to demand special privileges and protection. But the League of Nations, Composed of the best political brains of practically all the Nations of the world, thinks otherwise and does

not seem to countenance the view endorsed by raw political agitators. The very definition of the word 'Minority' as a "class of people incorporated in the body of a Nation," "citizens who differ from the majority of the population in Race, Religion and Language are called minorities" is clear on the point that every Nation has necessarily its own National Race, Religion and Language (culture needs no special mention for with the mention of the three Race, Religion and Language, culture also is implicitly there.) To discuss the problem of minorities is, though very useful for a proper understanding of our problem today, not within the scope of this booklet. We will only state in one small sentence that for such a foreign race to claim preferential treatment at the hands of the Nation, it should not be an upstart, a new, voluntary settlement, and it should not be below 20% of the total population of the state.

To return to our subject, the post-war states-men, though not speaking of Religion, Culture and Language as essential constituents of the Nation concept, have tacitly acknowledged that they are

so, and have even gone the length of emphasising the necessary nature of the Race factor. As for the Geographical unity, since every state with which they had to deal, did not live in the air, but inhabited a properly delimited territory possessed by the National Race, from the very beginning of its national life, there arose no reason to express country as an essential for National life. This, however, was made express, when in order to confer their lost Nationality upon the exiled Jews, the British with the help of the League of Nations, began to rehabilitate the old Hebrew country, Palestine, with its long lost children. The Jews had maintained their race, religion, culture and language: all they wanted was their natural territory to complete their Nationality. The reconstruction of the Hebrew Nation in Palestine is just an affirmation of the fact that Country, Race, Religion, Culture and Language must exist unavoidably together to form a full Nation idea. Thus it is evident that the war and its resultant adjustments have not affected the old conception and that as of yore, the world, the western world

especially, still holds firm to the statement that for the Nation idea to manifest itself and live, it must be comprised of the five constituent "Unities," Geographical, Racial, Religious, Cultural and Linguistic, and of all these five, without exception.

Latterly some thinkers, thinking it wise to drop the words, Religion. Culture and language altogether from the Nation idea, have defined "Nation" to mean "a race living in a hereditary territory and possessed of common traditions and common aspirations." "It is considered that this definition satisfies those, who are .impatient of the maintenance of Religion in polities. It is thought that by adopting this, new outlook on Nationality, all problems, arising out of religious, cultural and linguistic differences, shall cease and the world lie blessed with smooth running states. That the states should run without the least friction among those who live under their way, we also heartily wish, but we fail to see how this change of words in expressing the Nation idea can bring about this desirable state of affairs. Indeed has the understanding of the Nation concept undergone a

change by this change in its expression? At least we do not see that this new definition alters the old conception in the least, far less supersedes it. For, to any person, with average intelligence, it will be evident that this "New" definition acknowledges the two first constituents Country and Race in so many words, but substitutes the other thereby "possessing common traditions and common aspirations. What are "Common Traditions"? Is not the tradition of a race the sum-total of its religious, cultural and political life? And is not the distinctive language of every race the result of its own peculiar traditions? In fact the one word "Traditions" is expressive of all the three factors, Religion, Culture and language, as it embraces the whole past life of the Race in all its aspects. Thus far we have nothing more than a play of words, calculated to blind-fold the unwary tramp on the road to an understanding of the Nation idea. Thus far this "New" definition has merely stated in another garb what the old thinkers right up to the League of Nations, have emphasised as the-essence of the Nation concept. The only "change"

which now remains to be considered is in the additional words "Common Aspirations." The aspirations of the individual, as also of the Race, are conditioned by its mental frame. As is the mould into which the Racial mind is thrown—of course by its age long traditions, so are its desires— its aspirations. It is the Race Consciousness awakening to march fait her on, but it must tread the road into which its past traditional way has led it. It cannot abandon its fixed groove without seriously upsetting the whole fabric of its existence and endangering its life. Indeed it cannot help moving along the path which tradition has opened out for it. Look at Italy, the old Roman Race consciousness of conquering the whole territory round the Mediterranean Sea, so long dormant, has roused itself, and shaped the Racial-National aspirations accordingly. The ancient Race spirit, which prompted the Germanic tribes to over-run the whole of Europe, has re-risen in modern Germany, with the result that the Nation perforce follows aspirations, predetermined by the traditions left by its depredatory ancestors.

Even so with us: our Race spirit has once again roused itself as is evidenced by the1 race of spiritual giants we have produced, and who today stalk the world in serene majesty. Thus the words "common aspirations" add nothing material to our old tested definition; they only seem to confer on every Race the indisputable right of excommunicating from its Nationality all those who, having been of the Nation, for ends of their own, turned traitors and entertained aspirations contravening or differing from those of the National Race as a whole.

Accordingly, we state that our proposition stands unchallenged. Indeed it is based on such scientific understanding of the question, that it could not be otherwise. Thus the conclusion at which after so much discussion we arrive, is that for the Nation concept to exist and be manifest, it must have as its indissoluble component parts the famous five unities "Geographical, (Country) Racial (Race), Religions (Religion), Cultural (Culture) and Linguistic (Language)," that the loss or destruction of any one of these means the end of

the Nation as a Nation. This is the unassailable position on the view of Nationality, subscribed to by the world's Political notaries, ancient and modern.

Having thus far studied what in essence the word "Nation" ought to mean, we shall go into the present conditions of some important modern states and see how far the "Ought" accords with what "Is". Theory and practice are not always in agreement and the theory which can find no place in practical life, deserves to be discarded. Whether our theoretical conception of the Nation arrived at above is one of these dead theories, or stands the test of practical life, has now to be seen.

The Nation, with which today we are most in contact, is England and we will take it first in our Study. So far as country and Race are concerned they are so patent facts that no one questions their importance in the Nation concept. Culture, too, belongs to the same category, it being notorious how each nation jealously guards it and keeps it at its best. The knotty point is Religion and to a

certain extent language. Especially today when democratic states boast of having washed their hands clean of it, Religion deserves careful scrutiny-Does England believe in a state Religion? The answer is plainly in the affirmative, for, otherwise, why should it be an essential condition that the king of England must be of the Protestant persuasion? Why should the whole galaxy of priests of the Church of England be paid out of the state treasury? More notably, why should there be a Bishop of that Church appointed at Calcutta, at State expense? Does not the English nation, openly or clandestinely, help the missionary activities in Hindusthan and other places? If it is but Religious toleration, why are not the Hindu priests of the most important holy places paid by the British Government? And why is not the Bishop of Calcutta left to his own resources to live upon the charity of his flock? There is but one answer. England has a state religion, the Protestant form of the Christian faith, and believes in maintaining and strengthening it, as in its strength that of the Nation is preserved. As for language, the English

attempts at killing out the indigenous languages and forcing upon the conquered races the "National" English tongue are notorious. Wherever the English went, Ireland, Wales, Hindusthan—in all such places they have tried to supplant the original language by English. Indeed, such is the Englishman's pride in his "National" language that he tries his best to make it the world's Lingua franca. With England, then, theory fully accords with practice regarding the Nation Idea.

The other Nation most in the eye of the world today is Germany. This Nation affords a very striking example. Modern Germany strove, and has to a great extent achieved what she strove for, to once again bring under one sway the whole of the territory, hereditarily Possessed by the Germans but which, as a result of political disputes, had been portioned off as different countries under different states. Austria for example, was merely a province, on par with Prussia, Bavaria and other principalities, which made the Germanic Empire. Logically Austria

should not be an independant kingdom, but be one with the rest of Germany. So also with those portions, inhabited by Germans, which had been included, after the War, in the new State of Czechoslovakia., German pride in their Fatherland for a definite home country, for which the race has certain traditional attachments as a necessary concomitant of the true Nation concept, awoke and ran the risk of starting a fresh world-conflagration, in order to establish one, unparalleled, undisputed German Empire over all this "hereditary territory". This natural and logical aspiration of Germany has almost been fulfilled and the great importance of the ' country factor" has been once again vindicated even in the living present. Come we next to the next ingredient of the Nation idea—Race, with which Culture and language are inseparably connected, where Religion is not the all absorbing force that it should be. German race pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races—the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been

manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindusthan to learn and profit by. Then the state language is German, and the foreign races living in the Country as minorities, though they have freedom to use their respective languages among themselves, must deal in the nation's language in their public life. The factor of religion, too, is not to be ignored. The president, if any, of the Republic has to take an oath, which in its nature is purely religious. The state holidays are mostly the Christian holidays, according to the Roman Catholic sect. To be brief, all the five constituents of the Nation Idea have been boldly vindicated in modern Germany and that too, today in the actual present, when we can for ourselves see and study them, as they manifest themselves in their relative importance.

Another notable example is that of Russia; we had reserved the case of this 'Nation' as it professes no particular religious creed. And yet, howsoever

it may have changed since the war, it still conforms fully to the complete Nation Concept. In the beginning, when the new doctrine of Socialism, in its Communistic form was in full swing in Russia, the slogan was "Workers and Peasants of the world, unite." It seemed as if the people had burst the bounds of nationality and set out for Internationalism, with the whole of humanity as its field of work. But the rest of the world and even most of the people in Russia itself, were not ready to grasp such a broad ideal. Human mind is what it is and unless it takes up a high philosophical attitude, it cannot even conceive of the oneness of the world. As a natural consequence Russian Internationalism is no more and today we find that Russia is a more orthodox Nation probably, than any other in the world. It is now not the old kind of Nation, that is all. But that it is a Nation all the same is evident. There is as of old the Country and its old Race with its Russian language. So far nothing has altered. The only change is that the Nation has given up its old Religion and Culture and built up new ones in their place. In Russia now

we have the new religion known as Socialism-and the new culture, that of the workers, evolved out of their materialistic religion. Readers, we think, will not disagree with us regarding the culture—the materialistic culture of Russia; they may, however, feel surprised at our statement that Socialism is modern Russia's religion. But there is nothing to be surprised at. To most, religion means a set of opinions to be dogmatically followed, for the good of the individual and of the society and for the attainment of God. Here we have a religion which does not believe in God. It is a Godless religion but a religion none the less. For the Russians, their prophet is Karl Marx and his opinions are their Testament. Even in other parts of the world there have been Godless religions in the past. The Russian religion is the modern form of those ancient ones. The socialists are veritably the descendants of *Virochana* and *Charwak*. But it does not profit us to discuss the beliefs to which the Russian Nation adheres with religious fervour. These beliefs are sacred to them and they are intolerant of all who differ from them or hold other

or contradictory views. Theirs is but another example of Semitic religious intolerance, which has, in this form, once again bathed the world in blood. We rest satisfied with pointing out that Russia has its country, race, its materialistic godless religion, with its resultant culture and its language and stands out before the world a Nation in its complete Nationhood, shorn of its borrowed feathers of Internationalism.

We shall take only one more example, that of Czechoslovakia, as it is very instructive to us. This was a state formed after the Great War, of portions of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland, joined to the Czech territory under the Czech rule, to serve as a buffer state against Germany. The League of Nations adjusted and balanced the rights of the Nation - the Czech with those of the minorities, among them the Sudeten Germans. Under the direct supervision of the League, was made this distinction within the state, of the Nation supreme in the state and minorities living under the protection of the Nation and owing a number of duties to it, in return for the right of state

citizenship. Czech language, Czech religion were the state language and all -without exception had to deal in that language (Articles 128 and 129) and de-nationalisation (which could result only by giving up one's religion and culture and consequently race, situated as Czechoslovakia is, or by political opposition to the established Government) was declared an offence and the offenders liable to be penalized (Article 132). Here was implicitly an avowal by the League of Nations, that 'Nation' and 'State' are, not synonymous, that in the 'State', the 'Nation' should be supreme and its components Country, Race, Religion, Culture and language should be respected and where possible followed by all the foreign races living in the state as minorities. And yet in spite of the most scrupulous care taken, to bring about harmony, in spite of the vigilance of the League, all un-national elements in the Czech State have fallen out and justified the fears of many political scholars, regarding the wisdom of heaping together in one State, elements conflicting with the National life. But of this later.

No need multiplying examples. Those interested may first purge their minds of any preconceived notions and look into the constitution of the various nations of the world and convince themselves, how everywhere National existence is entirely dependent upon the coordinated existence of the five elements constituting the Nation idea— Country, Race, Religion, Culture and Language. That is the final incontrovertible verdict of theoretical discussions and their practical application to the world conditions past and present.

CHAPTER IV

Now we shall proceed to understand our Nationhood in the light of this scientific concept. Here is our vast country, Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus, their home country, hereditary territory, a definite geographical unity, delimited naturally by the sublime Himalayas on the North and the limitless ocean on the other three sides, an ideal piece of land, deserving in every respect to be called a Country, fulfilling all that the word should imply in the Nation idea. Living in this Country since pre-historic times, is the ancient Race—the Hindu Race, united together by common traditions, by memories of common, glory and disaster, by similar historical* political, social, religious and other experiences, living and evolving, under the same influences, a common culture, a common mother language, common customs, common aspirations. This great Hindu Race professes its illustrious Hindu Religion, the only Religion in the world worthy of being so denominated, which in its variety is still an organic whole, capable of feeding the noble aspirations of

all men, of all stages, of all grades, aptitudes and capacities, enriched by the noblest philosophy of life in all its functions, and hallowed by an unbroken, interminable succession of divine spiritual geniuses, a religion of which any sane man may be justly proud. Guided by this Religion in all walks of li/e, individual, social, political, the Race evolved a Culture, which despite the degenerating contact with the debased "civilizations" of the Mussalmans and the Europeans, for the last ten centuries, is still the noblest in the world. The fruit proves the worth of the tree and the common mind of a people the value of its culture. The spirit of broad Catholicism, generosity, toleration, truth, sacrifice and love for all life, which characterises the average Hindu mind, not wholly vitiated by Western influence, bears eloquent testimony to the greatness of Hindu culture. And even those, spoiled by contamination with foreign influences, do not but compare favourably with the best in the rest of the world. Not only has this Culture been most markedly effective in moulding man after the picture of God,

but in the field of learning (we distinguish learning and knowledge) also, it has produced, to the immortal glory of the Race, intellectual giants, outstanding the greatest savants of the modern Scientific world. Great mathematicians like Bhaskaracharya, great chemists and physicians like the authors of the Charak Samhita, Bhavaprakash and Sushruta, great artists and sculptors, whose works like the Taj, the Ajanta paintings, the Werool (Ellora) Caves, and numerous others well known to the world still delight and charm the people of the world, great politicians and diplomats like Arya Chanakya, Amatya-Rakshasa, Amatya Madhava, great economists like Koutilya, great warriors and Emperors like the Hero of the Ramayana, Chandragupta, Harsha, Pulikeshi, Pratap, Shivaji, Chhatrasal, the godly Sikh Gurus—all these and many more—succeeded in our times by their worthy offspring, Ramanujam, Sir C. V. Raman, Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, Dr. P. Sahni, Dr. Bhattacharya. Kaviraj N. N. Sen, Raja Ravi Verma, the painters-Tagore and others; Gokhale, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lok. Tilak, C. R.

Das, Shastri, V. G. Kale, the heroes of 1857, Tatya Tope, Kunwar Singh, the warrior queen Laxmibai of Jhansi, great poets and dramatists of old Kalidas, Bhavabhuti, Magh and countless others represented today through the medieval Ramprasad, Tulsidas, Surdas, Jnaneshwar, Ramdas, by Rabinbra Nath Tagore, Sharatchandra Chakrawarti, Romeshchandra Dutt, Babu Premchand, N. C. Kelkar, V. D. Savarkar and many more - the whole line of luminaries in every branch of learning, all these and many more, un-named for want of space, are the glorious fruit of this ancient culture and bear unimpeachable testimony to its greatness. More glorious still is the succession of Religious, spiritual philosophers, from the Vedic sages down to the seers of our own day - Swami Vivekanand, Swami Ramtirth, Maharshi Dayanand, Maharashi Ramana, too numerous to name. Europe may boast of a few (She is, however, ashamed of them today!) St. Francis, St. Theresa, St. Paul, Luther, Max Muller, Paul Duessen, Romain Rolland, but here are countless such even today, who, in their divinity, vie with the "Master" of the

European saints. No race is endowed with a nobler and more fruitful culture surely. No race is more fortunate in being given a Religion, which could produce such a culture.

In a nutshell such are the religious and cultural complements of this Nation. The last, Language, seems to present some difficulties, for in this country every province has its own language. It appears as if the Linguistic unity is wanting, and there are not one but many "Nations', separated from each other by linguistic differences. But in fact that is not so. There is but one language, Sanskrit, of which these many 'languages' are mere offshoots, the children of the mother language-Sanskrit, the dialect of the Gods, is common to all from the Himalayas to the ocean in the South, from East to West and all the modern sister languages are through it so mush inter-related as to be practically one. It needs but little labour to acquire a going-acquaintance with any tongue. And even among the modern languages Hindi is the most commonly understood and used as a medium of expression between persons of different provinces.

We have no hesitation in saying that though the vastness of our country has had the necessary consequence of giving birth to different dialects in the various localities, still all these local tongues, are naturally united in their great parent, the Sanskrit and are essentially one. There is thus no doubt regarding the existence in us of the fifth component of the Nation idea - language. Thus applying the modern understanding of 'Nation' to our present conditions, the conclusion is unquestionably forced upon us that in this country, Hindusthan, the Hindu Race with its Hindu Religion, Hindu Culture and Hindu Language, (the natural family of Sanskrit and her off-springs) complete the Nation concept: that, in fine, in Hindusthan exists and must needs exist the ancient Hindu nation and nought else but the Hindu Nation. All those not belonging to the national i.e. Hindu Race, Religion, Culture and Language, naturally fall out of the pale of real 'National' life.

We repeat; in Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus, lives and should live the Hindu Nation— satisfying all the five essential requirements of the

scientific nation concept of the modern world. Consequently only those movements are truly 'National' as aim at re-building, re-vitalizing and emancipating from its present stupor, the Hindu Notion. Those only are nationalist patriots, who, with the aspiration to glorify the Hindu race and Nation next to their heart, are prompted into activity and strive to achieve that goal. All others are either traitors and enemies to the National cause, or, to take a charitable view, idiots.

CHAPTER V

If, as is indisputably proved, Hindusthan is the land of the Hindus and is the terra firma for the Hindu nation alone to flourish upon, what is to be the fate of all those, who, today, happen to live upon the land, though not belonging to the Hindu Race, Religion and culture? This question is too very common and has its genesis in the generous impulse of so many Hindus themselves, that it deserves at least a brief answer.

At the outset we must bear in mind that so far as 'nation' is concerned, all those, who fall outside the five-fold limits of that idea, can have no place in the national life, unless they abandon their differences, adopt the religion, culture and language of the Nation and completely merge themselves in the National Race. So long, however, as they maintain their racial, religious and cultural differences, they cannot but be only foreigners, who may be either friendly or inimical to the Nation. In all ancient Nations i. e. all those who had a well developed National life even before the

Great War, this view is adopted. Though these Nations practise religious toleration, the strangers have to acknowledge the National religion as the state Religion and in every other respect, inseparably merge in the National community. Culturally, linguistically they must become one with the National race; they must adopt the past and entertain the aspirations for the future, of the National Race; in short, they must be '"Naturalized" in the country by being assimilated in the Nation wholly. Naturally, there are no foreigners in these old Nations, and no one to tax the generosity of the Nation by demanding privileges, as 'Minority communities' in the State. It is this sentiment which prompted the United States of America, England, France and other old Nations to refuse to apply the solution of the Minorities problem arrived at by the League of Nations, to their States. The avowed reason for their declaration, that the decision of the League was not binding upon them, was that its application might shatter the unity of their empire and create uncalled-for difficulties, by rousing the demon of

separateness and variegated interests of the distinct minorities, which had been so long laid at rest. The same sentiment has been expressed in the speech of the American Representative to the League, on the occasion of discussing the advisability of applying the "Minorities" decision to all the countries in the world. He said, there are no distinctive characteristics in respect of Race, Language and Religion between the elements forming each of the peoples of that continent (America). Uniformity of language throughout the territory of each American State, complete religious tolerance combined with a completely natural assimilation of emigrants by the principal mass of population of each of the States, have produced in them natural organisations, of which the collective unity is complete. This means that the existence of minorities, in the sense of persons with a right to the protection of the League of Nations, is impossible ". It is worth bearing well in mind how these old Nations solve their minorities' problem. They do not undertake to recognise any separate elements in their polity. Emigrants have to get

themselves naturally assimilated in the principal mass of population, the National Race, by adopting its culture and language and sharing in its aspirations, by losing all consciousness of their separate existence, forgetting their foreign origin. If they do not do so, they live merely as outsiders, bound by all the codes and conventions of the Nation, at the sufferance of the Nation and deserving of no special protection, far less any privilege or rights. There are only two courses open to the foreign elements, either to merge themselves in the national race and adopt its culture, or to live at its mercy so long as the national race may allow them to do so and to quit the country at the sweet will of the national race. That is the only sound view on the minorities' problem. That is the only logical and correct solution. That alone keeps the national life healthy and undisturbed. That alone keeps the Nation safe from the danger of a cancer developing into its body politic of the creation of a state within the state. Prom this standpoint, sanctioned by the experience of shrewd old nations, the foreign races

in Hindusthan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment -not even citizen's rights. There is, at least should be, no other course for them to adopt. We are an old nation; let us deal, as old nations ought to and do deal, with the foreign races, who have chosen to live in our country.

In the new states created after the war, however, such an assimilation had not been achieved, nor was there any prospect of its being achieved in the near future. All the same, this tried solution of the problem of the foreign races, should have been as a rule applied everywhere. But the League of Nations struck another note and formulated the now famous minority treaties - and laid down certain general propositions, which have been

acclaimed as "the public law of the world." (Arthur Henderson's speech-page 24, monthly summary of the League of Nations, Jan. 1931) But not without many an apprehension and misgiving. The authors of the solution knew how beset it was with grave dangers, and yet they hoped that these treaties would serve as a first step, their declared object being "to secure for the minorities that measure of protection and justice, which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged." (Sir Austin Chamberlain's speech at the League Council on 9th Dec. 1925. quoted by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji). This risk, which the League ran certain states into, has been vividly expressed by Paul Fauchille in his speech at the League Council on 9-12-25. He said, "this is a solution (the minority rights solution) which perhaps is not without certain dangers; for, if equality of treatment of all the inhabitants of a country, is an element of political and social peace, the recognition of rights belonging to minorities as separate entities, by increasing their coherence and developing in them a sense of their own strength,

may provoke them to separate themselves from the state of which they form a part; and in view of the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, the recognition of the rights of these minorities runs a risk of leading to the disruption of states". Prophetic words! How true they sound today after the recent developments in Europe, under the very nose of the League of Nations! The disastrous fate of the unfortunate Czechoslovakia (to which as promised, we now refer) proves beyond the faintest shadow of a doubt, how hollow were the League's hopes and how justified the fears of Paul Fauchille. And yet the decision of the League on the minorities' rights was the most equitable and just, that could be conceived of. But even this just and equitable arrangement, instead of fostering the assimilation of the minorities into the National community, only served to increase their coherence and create in them such a sense of their own strength, that it led to a total disruption of the state, the Sudeten German minority merging in Germany, the Hungarians in Hungary, in the end

leaving the National Czechs to shift for themselves in the little territory left unto them.

Let us be forewarned, lest the same story repeat itself in our Country. Our modern solution of the minorities' problem is far more dangerous. It confers untold rights not only on those who by their number and years of residence (we doubt it) may be considered according to the League as minorities, but also on all else, howsoever few or recent in their settlement-rights and privileges far in excess of the minimum advocated by the League. The natural consequences are even now felt and Hindu National life runs the risk of being shattered. Let us take heed and be prepared. We will not dilate upon this danger here, as it is outside the ambit of our work; we leave it to the reader to think for himself and read it in the developing events. We only remind him that it was not for nothing that all experienced Nations refused to adopt this decision of the League; that it is not for nothing that they refuse to recognise any elements entitled to separate treatment, that they insist on subordinating all to the general National

life-religious, cultural, linguistic, political, that they lay so much stress, on the foreigners, either cutting their old associations and merging in the body of their National race in; every way, or deserving no right what-so-ever, no claim to any obligations from the National race. And having thus reminded him, we leave the reader to ponder over the Czech affair and find out for himself how; our National life is in even a much greater danger.

But enough of this. We refer, on the problem of minorities, our reader to "India and the League of Nations Minority Treaties" by Dr. Radhakumund Mukerji, M. A. Ph. D. and return to our subject. Indeed these questions arise in discussions about a "State" we are out to understand the Nationhood of Hindusthan, which done, all questions regarding the form of "State" shall be worth entrusting to the "Nation" as we find it to exist.

CHAPTER VI

Thus then we conclude that in Hindusthan we have the ancient Hindu Nation. But it may be asked, whether or not we are trying to force modern Nation concepts on the Hindus of old, whether the ancient Hindus had any idea of Nationality or the National sentiment was a wholly modern development borrowed out of the West. We will, in brief, answer this question.

The word *Rashtra*, which expresses the whole of the idea contained in the English word "Nation," is as old as the Vedas and in the ancient works is decribed in a general way, as being so (*Rashtra* in truth,) when it included "Swaraj" - independence, the power of the National Race, over the whole land from sea to sea पृथिव्याः समुद्रपर्यन्तायाः एकराट् and was endowed with wealth of every description. पशुधान्यहिरण्यसंपदा राजते शोभते इति राष्ट्रम् . For the *Rashtra* concept to be complete it should be composed of देश country, and जाति Race or जनपद people. No mention is found of the three components Religion, Culture

and Language, but the concept of जनपद explicitly includes these, as we shall soon see. देश to be really so should be capable of conferring on the Ruling Race wealth and power भर्तुर्दण्डकोशवृद्धिं दिशति ददातीति देशः i.e. it should have a scientific frontier and should be richly productive. The love for country is an essential factor in the national life of a Race. Indeed to be Nationally minded is also expressed as being "patriotic " i.e. having pride in one's fatherland. If a Race possesses such love and pride in its country, it is right-minded, its Nation consciousness is manifestly awake. Such a Nation consciousness manifesting itself in love for the "Motherland" - has always been a living: one in the Hindu Race, and has found its most beautiful and touching expression in the epic Ramayana, when, on being suggested that it would be better to reign in the newly conquered territory of Lanka, rather than risk an encounter with his brother, Bharat, who may have, during the period of Kama's exile, become a changed man, avaricious of the parental crown, the divine Hero of the Epic, Shri

Ramchandra—the ideal Hindu Man and king—replied,

अपि स्वर्णमयी लंका न मे लक्ष्मण रोचते।

जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी॥

"Oh! *Lakshmana*! This golden land of Lanka, with all its riches, has no appeal for me. To me my mother and my motherland are greater by far than Heaven itself."[2] In addition to this factor of power and glory in the country, some other factors, descriptive of a good country for the Nation, show

[2] This same love is manifest today in all right-minded Hindus. The great patriot, the late Yithal Bhai Patcl, expressed his dying wish that Ms ramains be brought to Hindusthan, his beloved motherland. There is another picture of a so-called " Patriot" Maulana Mohammad Ali, (who also died abroad,) who directed his remains to be taken, not to the land which had fostered him and his forefathers before him, but to the foreign land of Mecca. These two personalities may be taken to represent the Hindu and the Moslem mentality in our country. Love for the country being the first essential of Nationality, it scarcely need be told who is a nationalist and who a foreigner to the National life in Hindusthan. This example strongly substantiates our proposition that in this country the Hindus alone are the Nation and the Moslems and others, if not actually antinational are at least outside the body of the Nation.

that it should have all four classes of society as conceived by Hindu Religion and should be free from free-booting hunters and *Mlechchh* as this latter word meaning all those who do not subscribe to the social laws dictated by the Hindu Religion and Culture. Evidently the ancient masters had in mind the Religious and cultural unity of the people living as a *Rashtra* in the country.

We come to the next concept जाति which may be translated as Race. It has been defined by Goutama in his Nyaya-sutras thus, समानप्रसवात्मिका जातिः . Race means those people, who have a common origin and common fellow feeling, i.e. are related together by common traditions and naturally by common aspirations. This word too, by emphasising common origin, and at the same time laying special stress on the feeling of 'oneness' - cohesion - points out the existence of common bonds of fellowship among the people. It is well known, that "of all the forces that have worked and are still working to mould the destinies of the human race, none, certainly, is more potent than that, the

manifestation of which we call religion. All social organisations have as a back ground, somewhere the workings of that peculiar force, and the greatest cohesive impulse, ever brought into play amongst human units, has been derived from this power." (Swami Yivekananda.) It is plain that the great savant Goutama had in mind a complete picture of a people of a common origin, common religion, common culture, common language, common traditions and aspirations, when he put down his brief but pregnant aphorism, defining the word जाति. In our ancient literature sutras or aphorisms abound and the learned in the lore know how a little syllable by its relations with other ideas, is a complete expression of a whole range of concepts. Similar is the case with this sutra. In two syllables प्रसव and आत्मिका are contained in their fullness all ideas of common origin, Religion, Culture, Language etc. which make of a people, a race strictly so called. Here again in pointing out the second essential of the Nation idea, the ancient Hindu Scholars have clearly

indicated not only Racial Unity, but Religious, Cultural and Linguistic Unities as well.

The third word जनपद, which means "people" and may be taken to be a near synonym of the word जाति is more explicit. जनपद is a complex idea. It includes country and Race chiefly indeed, but by definitely stating the nature of the Race, it has given a prominent place to Religion and Culture also. जनपद means जनस्य वर्णाश्रमलक्षणस्य द्रव्योत्पत्तेः स्थानमिति - The place where a people "Characterized by *Varnas* and Ashrams " enriches itself, Characterised by *Varnas* and Ashrams - that is, following the Hindu frame-work of society, obeying the Hindu codes, in short subscribing to the Hindu Religion and Culture - that is important. The people in the country: must be Hindus by Religion and Culture and consequently by Language, to be really included in the concept जनपद, a component of the *Rashtra* idea of the ancient Hindus.

Taking these three together, we find that the political scholars of old Hindusthan centuries ago, recognised the essential value of the five unities Country. Race, Religion, Culture and Language towards making a complete Nation concept. It is nothing to be wondered at, that they did not actually express Religion etc. in their definitions. As we have said once before, in the case of Races professing common Religion and Culture, the difference of Nationality depends solely on difference of Country and Race, and these two concepts alone need emphasis. In the days of old, when the Hindu definition was framed, there is reason to hold that in the whole of the then known world—at least as far as the old authors were concerned (we do not enter into discussions whether the Hindu Religion and Culture were actually followed by all the Races in the whole of the world as we know it today. There seems to be much evidence to show that Hindu culture had penetrated to the whole of the Southern archipelago, to Asia and probably to America as well. But whether it was so or n6t is not material to

us. Either it was so or the ancient Hindus knew only that part of the globe where Hindu Religion and Culture reigned) all peoples followed Hindu Religion and evolved Hindu culture and where any of these peoples had any doubt they came to Hindusthan, the cradle of Religion and Culture, to take their instructions. It is this fact which made the first and greatest law giver of the world - Manu, to lay down in his code, directing all the peoples of the world to come to Hindusthan to learn their duties at the holy feet of the "Eldest-born" Brahmans of this land -

एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशादग्रजन्मनः।

स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्व मानवाः॥

Thus there being no differences on the score of Religion, Culture or Language, the old masters did not find it necessary to mention these constituents as being essential in forming the *Rashtra* concept. They emphasised only the other two, Country and Race, on which alone depended, in their time, difference of Nationality. At the same time, they

were not ignorant of the remaining three essentials and have made implicit reference to them, as the unavoidable ingredients of their Nation idea.

From this we can safely conclude, that even in the remotest past, full understanding of Nationality and its resultant National consciousness were constantly awake in the ancient Hindus and is not an imported sentiment of present-day origin.

CHAPTER VII

Seeing now that ancient Hindusthan understood its Hindu Nationality, the question naturally forces itself upon us, as to how we have today so far forgotten ourselves as to need being reminded of the scientific concept and roused to our Hindu National consciousness? Why is it that a number of our workers have taken a different lead and followed channels of work destructive of such Nationality? How do we find that today this traditional and correct understanding fails to appeal to many, and they start with a muddled conception of their real National Nature '? But it is not difficult to account for this misconception. We have already (in Chap. II) traced briefly the causes of our progressive denationalization. We shall hero repeat the whole of it a bit more extensively. In the long peace which succeeded the great battle of the Mahabharat, the whole nation was lulled by a sense of security into a sort of stupor, and the cohesive impulse, resulting from a knowledge of impending common danger, having ceased to function for centuries, for want of such danger, a

gradual though imperceptible, falling away from a living consciousness of the one Hindu Nation, resulted in creating little independent principalities and weakened the Nation. Kingships became the objects of the peoples' reverence and supplanted the Nation idea. When the Moslem invaders came, the little kingships fell and a large part of the country passed into the hands of the enemy. But the dormant National consciousness roused itself under Shivaji and the Sikh Gurus and rejuvenated the Hindu Nation. Shivaji's epistle to Raja Jayasingh, Aurangzib's general, clearly expresses the meaning of the great upheaval in Maharashtra. He writes—"The enemy rules us with our help. Why do you serve him? You are a great warrior, a shrewd statesman, a wise general. You have a good following. Rise for the cause of the Hindu Nation in the North, and I, too, with my brave spearsmen, shall rush down from my mountain throne, like a torrent, sweeping out the enemy from the land and join you in the plains, where we shall amalgamate our forces and create such a blaze of power, that we shall wholly destroy and root out the least

vestige of the foe, and re-establish the Hindu Empire in Hindusthan". (Summarized[3]) But before the ideal could be fully realised, the Nation had to face a strange enemy and though the struggle has not yet ceased the laurels today are wholly with the invader.

This new force—the British—is well aware of the strength of Hindusthan, and knows that it lies m the Hindu National consciousness. Systematic attempts were, therefore, made to weed it out. Invidiously the Hindu Religion and Culture are calumniated, Hindus taught to discard as old-fashioned and out of date their noble heritage, and what is worst, their history is distorted and tints they are educated to believe that they never were a Nation, they were no children of the soil, but mere upstarts, having no better right than the Moslems or the British to live in the country, they never were masters of the country but were always, either of the Moghuls or of the British - meek

[3] This epistle which, even in the present, resounds our war-cry, is reproduced in extenso in appendix A.

drawers of water and hewers of wood. The crown of such and many other denationalizing activities was the foundation of the so-called "Indian National Congress". A couple of shrewd Englishmen professing to have the good of this country at heart laid the first stone. Englishmen with all their interests centred in their "Home country" striving to benefit Hindusthan! Impossible, unless, like sister Nivedita, they adopt the Hindu culture and philosophy of life, live among the Hindus and immolate themselves for their betterment. The express aim of founding this body was to suppress all National outbursts, likely to dethrone the British power. The reader is referred for an authority on the point of this motive, to the life of Mr. A. O. Hume, the father of the Indian National Congress by Sir William Wedderburn[4]. And to effect it, the amazing theory was propounded that the Nation is composed of all those who, for one reason or the other happen to live, at the time in the country. The absurd result of such a view is that European adventurers, who for

[4] The relevant extract from the life ia reproduced in full in Appendix B.

their private, selfish ends came to the land but yesterday, have earned a place in the National polity and under our present constitution have their representatives in the 'National' Legislatures of the country. Indeed they have made our country a veritable *Serai*! The natural evil, which flowed from the working of this body, was and is that many a sincere worker, taking the *Serai* theory to be true, rushed into action, followed the false scent and was lost in the quagmire of antinational and denationalizing work, unwittingly, unwillingly.

Why did not the Hindu think for himself '? Why did he allow himself and still allows himself to be misled by scheming Englishmen into absurdities and political blunders? The reason is simple and lies in the common human weakness of associating good qualities and wisdom with wealth and power. A famous saying in Sanskrit, यस्यास्ति वित्तं स नरः कुलीनः। स पंडितः स श्रुतिमान् गुणज्ञः॥ describes how the human mind naturally attributes all wisdom and greatness (o the possessor of riches and power. When the tide of war turned in favour of the

English, and for a time it deemed as though the Hindus were finally overthrown, there came a period of lull and diffidence, resulting in the fostering of the idea, that the victors, superior in their military prowess and scheming-skill, in wealth, and possessed of a brave show of physical prosperity, must also need be superior in all kinds of knowledge, be endowed with the very highest wisdom regarding every subject of study. That was why Hindus in the beginning of the British rule started aping the manners and customs of the English and voicing opinions borrowed from the west, with an air of conviction. Every European idea, however absurd, was gospel truth: everything Hindu by contrast was naturally false and foolish. Though in course of time the advancing tide of Hindu cultural degeneration received a powerful set—back, it still had sufficient time to work upon the minds of the people, especially those learned in the Western lore, and vitiate their thought. This "Educated" class of Hindus became in truth आंग्लशूद्र slaves of the English, as the late Dr. B. V. Ketkar has aptly

described them. They had cut their traces, lost their footing in the National past, and become de-culturised, de-nationalised people. But they also formed the bulk of the "Congress" and found no difficulty in eagerly gulping down the extra-ordinary absurdity, that their country was not theirs, but belonged to the strangers and enemies of their Pace equally with them. These creatures took upon themselves the burden of "leading" the people, to what they considered, following the false start, as the National regeneration. And today the same old tale of the blind leading the blind is going on, necessitating trumpet calls of correction from right minded Patriots, following whose resounding footsteps we have compiled this little work, towards the same end of arousing proper National Consciousness among the Hindus in the country.

To our mind, that is the genesis of the present day ignorance of true Nationality. The same ignorance, the same lack of the National sentiment of the right sort, is the root of our troubles. All through the centuries, since the Moslems first tread

upon this land, it is this want of National Consciousness, which has been the cause of our ills. Persons interested in calumniating Hindus, make much of the caste system, the "superstitions", the want of literacy, the position of women in the social structure, and all sorts of true or untrue flaws in the Hindu Cultural Organisation, and point out that the weakness of the Hindus lies solely in these. No society is entirely free from defects. The European Society, we maintain, is exceptionally defective and consequently in a constant state of unrest. And yet, Europeans, as Nations, are free and strong and progressive. In spite of their ugly social order, they are so, for the simple reason that they have cherished and do still foster correct national consciousness, while we in Hindusthan ignore this *causa causans* of our troubles and grope about in the dark, chasing phantoms of our imagination, created by mis-conceptions set afoot by interested hostile parties. Look at the times of the Mahabharat, of Harshwardhan, of Pulakeshi, all the so called evils of caste etc. were there no less marked than today

and yet we were a victorious glorious nation then. Were not the bonds of caste, illiteracy etc. at least as stringent as now, when the country witnessed the grand upheaval of the Hindu Nation under Shivaji? No, it is not these that are our bane, but the dormancy of National feeling, which alone by fostering petty ambitions, created internal dissentions and facilitated foreign invasions; produced mean selfishness, suppressing noble patriotism and gave birth to the whole race of Jaychand Rathod, Mansingh, Chandrarao Morey, Sumersingh and their worthy progeny of the day, best unnamed. Do we not today witness this same, apathy towards true Nationality in our so-called workers? Is not there the same pettiness, selfishness working our ruin? Do we not find even in the present, people playing false to the Nation merely to maintain themselves in the public eye?

Except this meanness, we do not see any other reason why we do not still rise, as a Nation, to our full height. This meanness and ignorance of the general mass of the people about their real National nature, created and maintained by this

meanness, stand in our way. Many of us are' working our ruin by purposely calumniating all t hose who have Hindu Nationhood at heart and dubbing them as communal and anti-national. Does it not seem plain that they believe that we are a Nation in the making and had never enjoyed National life before? But as we have seen we Hindus have been living, thousands of years, a full National life in Hindusthan. How can we be 'communal' having, as we do, no other interests but those relating our Country, our Nation? And yet the masses are being duped into believing that we, who stand (as we must rationally) for the Hindu National renaissance are not 'National' and that those others, who hold with absurd tenacity to the *Serai* theory and disown their cultural heritage, are the real 'patriots.' Such is the degeneration of those self-styled "regenerators of the Nation," who happen to have become the custodians of the fate of this unhappy Nation.

The heart bleeds at the thought of this unreasonable, unjustifiable attitude. It grieves us to see how we fritter our energy in anti-national work

and lay the blame upon the Social order and such other things which have nothing to do with National revival. We conclude this painful chapter by once again pointing out that our gradual de-nationalisation, our letting our race spirit to fall asleep, has been the root cause of our present unhappy condition and, even now, it is this same apathy towards our real nationality, which makes it difficult for the nation to rise to its full height and regain its due place in the world. We emphasize that it is none of the so called drawbacks of the Hindu social order, which prevents us from regaining our ancient glory, but it is only the want of proper national feeling and its ugly progeny of the day's queer "' National " work, of hugging to our bosom our most inveterate enemies and thus endangering our very existence.

EPILOGUE

We, however, do not despair of the future. We warn our feeling reader that he may have walked too near the brink of the 'Slough of Despond' and pray him not to stalk into it blindly. For there is hope. Wait and work and the race spirit which all along has been protecting us from certain destruction, shall do so once again. Our mission in the world is unfulfilled and is eternal. All past civilizations "had their day, abode a day or two and passed away", because they had nothing to fulfill. We, however, live on, despite far greater calamities, and ever emerge triumphant masters of the world. We have no reason to lose hope. "Act first.....a stage so gloomed with woe, We all but sicken at the shifting scenes. And yet be patient, our Play-Wright ' will' show, in some fifth Act what this wild drama means." Let us be patient.

This is but the darker darkness before the dawn—the inevitable sunrise. Do we not already

see the heralding streaks of the great luminary, brightening up the whole horizon on the East?

Every time our race has been down-trodden, Beings of a super-human order, veritable divinities, have been born in our land and revitalized our Nation. Every event of national regeneration has been preceded by a glorious outburst of spirituality, our indomitable race-spirit, which has always heralded a period of all-round glory. Our race is in truth the phoenix which rises in new youthful vigour from its very ashes. We cannot die. What seems to be our death merely confers upon us a fresh lease of life. We are an immortal race with perennial youth. Take any instance of national greatness and the truth of this statement shall be revealed. The great Empire of Ashoka had its birth in the spiritual awakening under Lord Buddha. Shree Shankaracharya was in time followed by the illustrious Vijayanagar Empire. The great Hindu renaissance under Chhatrapati Shivaji was the outcome of the years of spiritual life, blossoming forth in a Jnaneshwar, a Tukaram, a Ramdas. The great religious masters, Guru Nanak and his

successors, laid the foundation of the Hindu upheaval exhibiting itself in the warlike Sikhs. And the same story is repeating itself today. The spiritual Sun has broken forth in all its glory in Bengal as the Shree Ramakrishna-Vivekananda order, in the Punjab, in the persons of Swami Dayanand and Swami Ramtirth, in the South it manifests itself through Maharshi Ramana and the great patriot Sage Arobindo Ghose sits in Pondicherry brooding deep over the spiritual awakening of the National race spirit. Here is an all absorbing flood of spiritual light, dispelling all darkness, all doubt, and pregnant with the promise of rejuvenation in store for the Hindu Nation.

We have no reason to be afraid of our future. We have no cause to despond. All we have to do to remount our throne is to respond to the awakened Race-spirit and re-rouse our national consciousness, and victory is in our grasp. The undying voices of our sages call; let us gird up our loins and follow them. The spirit of the race beckons to us and has lighted for its benighted children the path to their cherished ideal, with

beacons of undying spiritual splendour. Let us rouse ourselves to our true nationality, let us follow the lead of our race-spirit, and fill the heavens with the clarion call of the Vedic seers "from sea to sea over all the land - One Nation," one glorious, splendorous Hindu Nation benignly shedding peace and plenty over the whole world.

Appendix A

Shivaji's Letter to Jaysingh

O Sardar of Sardars, King of Kings, Manager of the Mango-trees of the garden of Bharat, O piece of the heart and consciousness of Ramchandra, the Rajputs - bold up their heads owing to thee. The grandeur of the Empire of Babar's dynasty is rendered all the more powerful owing to thee and it is its good fortune to receive thy help. O Jayshah, whose fortune is ever young and whose intellect ever old, be pleased to accept the salutations and blessings of Shiva. May the creator of the world protect thee. May he show thee the path of Religion which is Justice.

I have heard that thou hast come to make battle upon me and to subjugate the Deccan. Thou desirest in this world to make thy face glow with blood drawn from the hearts and eyes of the Hindus. But thou knowest not that thy face is painted in black, because owing to it, this country and religion are in danger. If thou considerest for a moment or givest thought to thy hands and thy

strength, then thou wilst discovor - whose blood lends the glow and what will be the colour of the glow in this world and the next.

Further if thou hadst come of thy own accord to conquer the Deccan, my eyes and my head could have been laid on earth for thee to tread upon. I would have marched with my whole force at the stirrup of thy horse and would have yielded up to thee the country from one end to the other. But thou hast in fact come to conquer at the instance of Aurangzib and under the instigation of those who desire to destroy the Hindus.

I do not know how I shall deal with thee. If I join thee there is no manliness in it. For brave men are not time-servers. The lion pursues not the policy of the fox. Or if I lift up the sword and the axe, then the Hindus on both sides will suffer. The greater sorrow is that my sword, which thirsts for the blood of the Mussalmans, should be drawn from the scabbard for some other purpose. If the Turks had come to fight this battle, then indeed the prey would have come to the lion in its lair. For

they are Rakshasas in the guise of men devoid of justice and religion, and are sinful.

"When supremacy could not be secured by Afzalkhan, and Shastakhan proved no better, you are engaged to fight against me because he himself (Aurangzib) is not fit to bear battle with me. He desires that no strong persons should be left surviving among the Hindus in this world, that lions may fight among themselves and get disabled, so that the fox may rule the forest. How is it that his secret policy is not transparent to thy brain? It is clear that thou art under the influence of his magic spell. Thou hast seen much good and evil in this world. Thou hast reaped both flowers and thorns in the garden of life. It is not meet that thou shouldest fight 'us people and bring the heads of Hindus to death. After having attained ripe wisdom in action, do not thou exhibit (the folly of) youth, but remember the saying of Saadi. "The horse cannot be ridden on all the roads; sometimes discretion is the better part of valour." (Literally: Sometimes it is more fitting to throw down the shield and fly.) Tigers attack the deer and other

animals-They do not indulge in a fratricidal war with lions.

Or if thy cutting sword has true water, if thy prancing horse has true spirit, then do thou attack those who are the enemies of religion and abolish Islam root and branch. Had Dara Shikoh been the King of the country, he would have treated his people with kindness and favour. But thou decievedst Jaswantsing! Thou didst not first consider the high and the low in thy heart. Thou art not satisfied with having played the fox and hast come to fight the battle with the lions. What dost thou get from this running about and labouring under the sun? Thy desires lead thee to a mirage. Thou art even as a mean creature who exerts his utmost and captures a beautiful damsel; but instead of tasting the fruit of that garden of beauty himself delivers it into the hands of the rival. How canst thou feel proud at the mercy of that mean man I Dost thou know how the services of Joharsing were rewarded? Dost thou know by what means he desired to bring calamities to Prince Chhatrasal? Dost thou know what

calamities that man hath inflicted on other Hindus also? I believe that thou hast attached thyself to him and hast laid down for him the self-respect of thy family. But what is the value of this net in which thou art caught for the sake of the Rakshasa? This bond that binds thee is not stronger than the cord that girds thy loins. In order to attain his ends, he hesitates not to shed the blood of his brother, or take the life of his father. Or if thou appealest to loyalty, remember thou also thy conduct in reference to Shah Jahan. If fate has endowed thee any intellect or if thou seekest to pride thyself on thy manhood, or manliness, then do thou heat thy sword at the fire of distress of the land thou wast born in, and wipe off the tears of the unhappy ones who suffer from tyranny.

This is not the time for fighting between ourselves since a grave danger faces the Hindus. Our children, our country, our wealth, our God, our temples and our holy worshippers, are all in danger of existence owing to his machinations and the utmost limit of pain that can be borne, has been reached. If the work goes on like this for some

time, there will not remain a vestige of ourselves on the earth. It is a matter of supreme wonder that a handful of Mussalmans should establish supremacy over this vast country. This supremacy is not due to any valour on their part. See if thou has eyes to see. See what policy of Duplicity he plays with us; how differently he colours his face from time to time. He claps our own chains to our feet; he cuts our heads with our own swords.

The most strenuous efforts should be made at this time to protect Hindus, Hindusthan and the Hindu religion. I desire to make an effort and bring about stability and strive my utmost for the sake of the country. Polish thy sword and thy intellect and prove thyself a Turk to the Turks. If thou joinest hands with Jaswantsing and divestest thy heart of the layers of trickery, and if thou bringest about unity with the Kana (of Mewar), then indeed there is hope for great things. Do you all rush and fight from all sides; tramp down that serpent under the rock; so that he may for some time occupy himself with ruminating on the consequences of his own actions; and may not further entangle the Deccan

in his meshes. And I may in the meantime with the aid of these and other lance-bearing heroes, make away with the other two emperors (Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda); so that I may rain the shower of swords from the thundering clouds of army on the Mussalmans; so that from one end of the Deccan to the other, I may wash out the name and very vestige of Mahommadanism. Thereafter with the assistance of wise statesmen and the army, like the river swirling and foaming as it emerges from the mountains of the Deccan, I may come out of the plains. And forthwith present myself for your service and hear you render your, accounts; and we may inaugurate a grim war on all sides and devote the battle-field to it; and tide of our army may submerge the crumbling walls of Delhi, so that nothing may be left of the Aurang (the throne) of the Zeb (grandeur); so that nothing may remain of the sword of his tyranny or the net of his policy; so that we may flow a river of pure blood and satisfy the souls of our ancestors; and with the grace of god, the just and the Giver of Life,

we shall entomb him below the bottom of the earth.

If two hearts combine, they can burst a mountain! They can dispel and scatter the whole armies. I have much to tell thee in regard to this matter which cannot in sooth be put on paper. I am desirous of having a talk with thee, so that no unnecessary pain or labour may be involved. If such is thy desire, I shall come to thee and hear what thou hast to say. Thy maiden of speech may open her mouth in privacy and I may take guard against the words being divulged, so that we put our hands to the plough of effort and practise some incantations on that mad Rakshasa. I swear my sword, by my horse, by my country and by my religion, that no harm shall befall thee in this. Or we may find out some other way to attain our object and make our names in this world and the next. Be not suspicious owing to the incident of Afzalkhan; the report spoke not truly. He had secretly kept, twelve hundred warlike Hubsee cavalry to accomplish my death. Had I not raised my arm against him first, who would have written

this letter to you? But I do not believe any such thing of you; there is no inherent enmity between us. Or if I receive the desired reply from thee, I shall present myself before thee alone at night. And I will show thee the secret letter which I cleverly extracted from Shastakhan, so that I may remove all doubts from thy mind and rouse thee from thy sweet sleep.

Or if this letter does not appeal to thee, then indeed I am ready with my sword to deal with thy army. Tomorrow the moment the sun shall conceal his face behind the evening cloud, the crescent moon of my sword shall flash forth. That is all. God be with thee.[5]

[5] From "Shivaji Souvenir"

Appendix B

Origin of the Indian National Congress

Mr. Hume admitted that there was a certain risk in the Congress agitation, that the experiment was quite new in India, and that circumstances were not wholly favourable. Also he explained that had it been possible, he personally would have gladly postponed the Propaganda some years. "But" he wrote, "no choice was left… I have always admitted that in certain provinces and from certain points of view the movement was premature, *but from the most vital point of view, the future-maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire,*[6] the real question when the Congress started was, not, is it premature, but is it too late, will the country now accept it?... *A safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed and no more efficacious safety valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised*.[7] "Knowing the country and the people as I do,

[6] Italics Ours - Publishers

[7] Italics Ours - Publishers

having been through something of the same kind though on a small scale in the Mutiny, and having convinced myself that the evidence of the then existing state of the proletariat was real and trustworthy, I could not then and do not now entertain a shadow of a doubt that we were then truly in extreme danger of a most terrible revolution." What the nature of this evidence was cannot be better told than in his own words: "The evidence that convinced me, at the time that we were in imminent danger of a terrible outbreak was this. I was shown seven large volumes, corresponding to a certain mode of dividing the country, containing a vast number of entries: English abstracts or translations, longer or shorter, of vernacular reports or communications of one kind or another, all arranged according to districts, not identical with ours, sub-districts, subdivisions and the cities, towns, and villages, included in these. The number of these entries was enormous. These were said at the time, to be communications from over thirty thousand different reporters. I did not count them, they seemed countless but in

regard to the towns and villages of one district of the North West Provinces, with which I possess a peculiarly intimate acquaintance, a troublesome part of the country no doubt, there were nearly three hundred entries, a good number of which I could partially verify as to the names of the people etc. ' He mentions that he had the volumes in his possession only for about a week; into six of them he only dipped; but he closely examined one covering the greater portion of the North West Provinces, Oudh, Behar, parts of Bundelkhand and parts of the Punjab; and as far as possible, verified the entries referring to those districts with which he had special personal acquaintance. Many of the entries reported conversations between men of the lowest classes "all going to show that these poor men were pervaded with a sense of the hopelessness of the existing state of affairs;... that they wanted to do something; they were going to do something and stand by each other and that something meant violence," “for innumerable entries referred to the secretion of old swords, spears and matchlocks, which would be ready

when required. It was not supposed that the immediate result in its initial stage, would be a revolt against our Government, or a revolt at all in the proper sense of the word. "What was predicted was a sudden violent outbreak of sporadic crimes.....“ In the existing state of the lowest half-starving classes, it was considered that the first few crimes would be the signal for hundreds of similar ones and a general development of lawlessness, paralysing the authorities and the respectable classes. It was considered certain also that everywhere the small bands would begin to coalesce into larger ones, like drops of water on a leaf; that all the bad characters in the country would join and that very soon after bands attained formidable proportions, a certain small number of the educated classes, at the time desperately, perhaps unreasonably, bitter against Government would join the movement, assume here and there the lead, give the outbreak cohesion and direct it as a national revolt."

Such were the specific warnings addressed to Mr. Hume. The forecast of trouble throughout

India was in exact accordance with what actually occurred, under my own observation, in the Bombay Presidency, in connection with the Agrarian rising known as the Deccan Riots. These began with sporadic gang robberies and attacks on the moneylenders, until the bands of dacoits, combining together, became too strong for the police; and the whole military force at Poona, horse, foot, and artillery, had to take the field against them. Roaming through the jungle tracts of the Western Ghats, these bands dispersed in the presence of military force, only to reunite immediately at some convenient point, and from the hill stations of Mahabaleshwara and Matheran we could at night see the light of their camp fires in; all directions. A leader from the more instructed class was found, calling himself Shivaji the second, who addressed challenges to the Government, offered a reward of Es. 500 for the head of H. E. Sir Richard Temple (then Governor of Bombay) and claimed to lead a national revolt upon the lines on which the Mahratta power had originally been founded.

(Life of A. O. Hume By Sir Willium Wedderburn PP. 77-82)